

**AGONY  
OF THE  
HOSTAGES**

# Maclean's

**EARTH DAY'S AFTERMATH**

## THE COST OF GREENING



**Who Will Pay  
The Billions For  
Cleaning Up  
The Planet?**

**A Debate  
About  
Industry's New  
Spending On  
Safer Products**

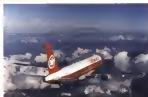


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ABOVE AND BEYOND



# Maclean's

CANADA'S WORLD NEWSMAGAZINE APRIL 30, 1990 VOL. 103 NO. 16

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COVER PHOTO BY HADJERIS

## COVER

### THE COST OF GREENING

*Earth Day Sunday signalled heightened concern about the fragile state of the planet. Driven by consumer demand, corporations are spending larger amounts of their budgets to curb pollution and waste. But government, industry and citizens still have to decide whether they are willing to pay the cost of sustaining development at a pace that preserves resources for future generations.* — 48



## SPECIAL REPORT

### AGONY OF THE HOSTAGES

*The pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine said that it would release one of its three U.S. hostages in Lebanon. But a last-minute drive, and uncertainty about who would be freed, caused diplomatic confusion in Washington and emotional turmoil for the hostages' families.* — 36



## BUSINESS

### A LEGACY OF TURMOIL

*True to his word, Harold Ballard, who died earlier this month at age 65, left the vast bulk of his nearly \$50-million estate in charity. But it was also clear that the uncertainty and turmoil that the owner of the Toronto Maple Leafs created during his lifetime would continue well after his death.* — 44



Cover story and this page: Gordon Gundy



# The Cost Of Cleaning Up

Environment Minister Lucien Bouchard's ambition was to make public a detailed anticipation action plan earlier this year. However, the federal cabinet sent the minister back to the drawing board, partly to get a better focus on some of his 80 sweeping recommendations, and partly to delay the announcement of such a major government initiative for a better day. At the moment, the Tories' national agenda is clouded by the March Lake debate, the controversy about the projected seven-per-cent Goods and Services Tax and the Liberal leadership race. As a result, last month Bouchard produced *The Green Plan*, a 30-page document that, by design, raised questions, but did not provide answers. The minister called for public reaction and undertook to draft a revised plan of action by fall.

In that consultative process, Canadians will need information on the costs of protecting their environment—and how that government undertaking will be financed. As the package of statutes beginning on page 48 makes clear, there is no doubt that citizens are deeply concerned about the threat to the planet, or that industries are making greater commitments to antipollution equipment and environmentally-friendly products. But, so far, there has been little information published on the costs of dealing with such key issues as global climate change, ozone destruc-

tion, Arctic pollution, acid rain or pollution of lakes.

Bouchard advisers indicated last month that the minister is committed to spending \$5 billion over the next five years. But, according to some private forecasts, that would only be a fraction of overall requirements. In Canada, the cost of just enforcing existing environmental standards over the next 10 years could be \$70.2 billion, according to a study made available to *Maclean's* last week by economist Carl Sonnen, vice-president of the Ottawa forecasting firm Infometrics Ltd.

Infometrics calculated the capital expenditures required to deal with existing problems in air and water at \$33.5 billion, while reducing gases that contribute to the climate changes would be another \$36.7 billion. That expenditure, passed along to consumers in higher prices and taxes, said Sonnen, could amount to about \$1,500 per household. "We would not necessarily be worse off than we are today," he said. "It would depend on how fast we grow." It also would depend on what politicians and electors decide about the allocation of resources to other areas currently needing funds, welfarism, health care, education, child care, native people and the poor. Eventually, politicians will have to make the choice—and face the risky exercise of trying to convince voters that it was the right one.

*Kevin W. Doyle*



They can. April 5: feeding a herd of Jamaican Hope cattle on a irrigated meadow site. Photo: Peter Christou/Photo

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# LETTERS

## THE COMMERCIALISM OF SPORT

Your April 9 editorial, "Swinging For Dollars," expresses my sentiments exactly. Commercialism is destroying professional sports, and from the destruction is rising a multimillion-dollar industry where profit is the motivation and "sport" is of secondary importance. The conspicuous absence of any sincere concern for the people who buy the tickets during the dispute between baseball players and management was appalling. I am no longer guaranteed sufficient enthusiasm to pay the exorbitant ticket prices to watch an athlete whose yearly salary is more than I could make in a lifetime. It would be more interesting to watch an assembly-line worker do his job. At least I could relate to his wage bracket.

Richard Hutchinson,  
Baltimore, Md.



Walt Clark: 'greed is the motivation'

## A DIFFERENT VISION OF PERU

How you dared it possible to write about the violence in Peru ("A nation under fire," World, April 30) without mentioning the widespread and increasing number of cases of "dis-

appearances" and extrajudicial executions at the hands of the armed forces is difficult to imagine. The regimes of Peru under military control have had a particularly high rate of atrocities, many of which are directly traceable to the armed forces. Either your reporting is grossly too shoddy, or you were so charmed by Mario Vargas Llosa that only his version of Peruvian reality was printed.

Jeanne Dalry,  
Ponce-Claire, Que.

## WELLS IS NO STUNTMAN

Peter C. Newman seems to have no familiarity with idiomatic language. Says Newman: "Mooch Lake critics spilled their gas with bullets" ("Standing by is not enough," Business Watch, April 14). To spill one's gas is to render them ineffective or unusable. To spike them with bullets is, of course, an oxymoron. And Newman has the audacity to refer to Newfoundland's Premier Clyde Wells as Confederation's "Toot Koelvel." What on earth is the connection between an American stuntsman and the well-spoken, logical Wells? Newman's final shot, referring to the premier as a "Trousers clown," will likely be taken as a well-deserved compliment.

Kurt Lott,  
Downsview, Ont.

Why is it that women are still being prosecuted by their relationships to men? Are you suggesting, as introducing Janet James on your April 9 cover ("The riches of sport" as "wile" instead of "atresia," that she is part of the multimillion-dollar fantasy, one of the riches of sport? Should she not get recognized for her own self?

Daniel Smolking,  
Winnipeg

## THE RIGHT MAN FOR THE JOB?

It seems that the Tories selected the right man for their environmental policies ("Green politics," Canada, April 30). After all the tough talk following the last federal election, we have yet another promise of unopposed legislation.

Wes Lawtonberg,  
Tulane, Mass.

"Green politics" just about sums up the state of environmental affairs within Canada. The question of economics versus the environment has arisen as the oldest trick in Canada. At the rate we are moving in establishing environmental programs, the other side never have a few more growth rings—or be cut down.

Jill Thornton,  
Edmonton

Lenore Bouchard asks if we are prepared to pay more taxes for the environment. Pay more taxes for what? The Canadian Standards Association sets standards for product safety and no one asked us to pay more taxes for this. Similarly, standards could be set for product manufacture and performance in relation to the environment. Additional costs are a cost of doing business—not a tax. Thank you. Is that just another tax grab?

Rebecca Winkler,  
Sudbury, N.C.

## PASSAGES

**DECEASED:** Hollywood screen star Greta Garbo, 64, the iconic, beauty-obsessed star of such movie classics as *Ana Karenina*, *Grand Hotel*, *Camille* and *Mata Hari*, following treatment for a kidney ailment, in New York City hospital near her home. Born Greta Lovisa Gustafsson in Stockholm, Garbo made the first of her 24 Hollywood movies in 1926 and, within two years, had become one of the highest-paid actresses. She retired in 1941 at 35 after her only box-office flop, *Two-Faced Woman*, and spent the rest of her years in a mansion. But her withdrawal from public view only increased her popularity and legend, her image as the enigmatic screen goddess acted for a new generation of movie fans.



**DECEASED:** American civil rights activist Rev. Ralph Abernathy, 64, who was the chief partner of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. beginning with the pivotal 1955 Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, of heart failure, in hospital near his Atlanta home. Abernathy succeeded King as leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference after King's assassination in 1968. Last year, Abernathy was bitterly denounced by prominent leaders in the civil rights movement for his autobiography, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, in which he wrote that, on the night before the assassination, King was in the company of two women and that, the next morning, he had a violent encounter with a third.

**BORN:** To actress Rebecca Emmerich, 28, and her boyfriend, Hollywood screen

star Jack Nicholson, 55, a seven-pound, 14-ounce girl, Lorraine, in a Los Angeles hospital. Nicholson, who starred in *The Joker* in *Batman*, has a 26-year-old daughter from his five-year marriage to actress Sandra Knight, which ended as divorce in 1965.

**PLEADED GUILTY:** To filing false income tax returns, former baseball star Pete Rose, who has admitted violating his federal taxes by at least \$188,000 from 1984 to 1987, owed on more than \$411,000 in unreported income from gambling, personal appearances and baseball memorabilia sales, in a Cincinnati Federal Court. The former manager of the Cincinnati Reds, who was banned from the game last year for betting, faces a maximum of six years in jail and a \$388,000 fine.



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**Maclean's**

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

## LETTERS

### SHLOCK TREATMENT

After reading your inspiring account of Canadian B-film achievements ("Big bad movies," *Film*, April 18), I had an overwhelming sense of awe. Despite the fact that I wrote over a single weekend! Good grief, I sometimes take three months or more to write a feature. Worse still, my scripts are written in literate English, have a beginning, middle and end, and are meticulously cluttered with human unambiguity. How can I have learned so little after 30 years in a full-time writer's life? Maybe it is time to declare myself brain-damaged and get admitted to one of those sci-fi-splitter factories for shlock treatment.

Arthur Sanwich,  
Montreal

### THE DANGER OF BIGOTRY

If the cultural identity of Betty J. Brown ("Madonnas' victim," *Letters*, April 18) is so tenuously held as to be unable to withstand accommodations to the RCMP uniform, then I should be neither sorry nor surprised to see her lose it. The mark of a decent country is its willingness and ability to find room for the legitimate interests of all its citizens. The cultural identity of white Anglo-Saxon Canadians is being destroyed by bigotry, not by tolerance.

Janet Alworth,  
Vancouver

### HARD TIMES FOR HUMOR

Thank you to Stewart MacLeod for some straight talking ("No laughs please, we're Canadian," *Columns*, March 26). The satirical response to John Grisham's remark was more sensational than any satire deserves, and the scenario of the country breaking apart only to become reunited under the Stars and Stripes is ludicrous. MacLeod's piece reminds me of the definition I once heard of a Canadian: like volleyball—half French, cold and hard to stir.

John Coggan,  
Leamington, Ont.

I applaud Stewart MacLeod, who regrets that we Canadians don't laugh more at the antics of our leaders. However, we are all temperamental, and as such, react with more emotion than humor. It is hard for us to lighten up in the face of official stupidity, but we should try. After all, we are paying for it.

Charles Farmer,  
North Vancouver, B.C.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply names, address and telephone number. Most correspondence is lost in the Editor Maclean's magazine. Please Reader Reply, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

## The Beauty & The Beast

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# OPENING NOTES

Adolf Hitler's bunker becomes a hot property, Pierre Berton loses his way, and two feuding tenors sing for soccer

## COMIC EVENTS IN LITERATURE

Milovan Hous, a secluded Georgian mason in north Toronto, provided a glittering setting in which to announce the winner of the 44th annual Stephen Leacock Memorial Medal for Humour last week. But as audience for that event, among them broadcaster Larry Zell and Vancouver author Susan Macgregor, mingled with these guests, it swiftly became apparent that an important literary personality was absent: either Pierre Berton, who, according to the event's official invitation, was to have been the master of ceremonies. Indeed, as he made his way to the podium, Pete McGorrey, a representa-



Berton: one of several coauthors

tive of the Grillo, Ont.-based Stephen Leacock Association, speculated aloud that Berton was perhaps "wondering around north Toronto, lost." As it turned out, Berton was right. Berton later told Macleod's that he "couldn't find the damn place" and that he had ended up on the campus of Glendon College, just north of the wooded site of Milovan Hous. Berton was not the only no-show. Leacock officials eventually announced that W. G. Mitchell had won his second Leacock award for a book of stories entitled *According to John and the King*—but neither Mitchell nor a representative from his publisher, Toronto-based McClelland and Stewart, showed up. Said McClelland spokesman Kelly Maclean: "Mitchell was at home in Calgary, and we seemed to have lost our invitation." Leacock himself would have relished such a scene.

## A woman's place is still elsewhere

The bachelorette tags and scarlet sashes of the Governor General's First Guards are a familiar sight on Parliament Hill each summer—symbols of a proud military history that began with the regiment's founding in 1792. Still, retired members of a reserve unit under the command of Colonel Ramon (Rae) Hayslop led to service recently when the veterans' association executive broke with tradition and voted to allow their wives to eat with them at the annual dinner in September. But several of their spouses were not invited. They promptly decided that offer—on the grounds that the association was voluntarily paying its service to the principle of sexual equality. Indeed, the wife of the association's past president argued that most of the men in the 400-member organization clearly preferred the custom of male-only dining. Said Enidie



The First Guards, changing an old custom

Lane: "It is the boys' decision, and up until now they only consented to live in with their dearer." For his part, Joe Prince, the association's current president, expressed the hope that men and women would dine together at the 45th reunion—in 1991.

## PERHAPS PARIS IN THE SPRING

Persistent reports that conductor Charles Dutoit is planning to switch jobs have circulated among members of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra for several months now. And last week, a *Patriote* daily newspaper added fuel to that speculation. According to Le Monde, Dutoit, who has led the Montreal orchestra since 1977, is a prime contender to replace the departing Lorin Maazel as the director of France's National Orchestra. But Dutoit, who was working in Philadelphia last week, spoke only through his lawyers—and declined to comment.



Favarotti (left), Domingos performing together for the honor of the sport

## HARMONY FOR SOCCER'S BENEFIT

The legendary feud apparently began during the 1970s, at a chance meeting in a hallway of New York City's Metropolitan Opera House. At the time, Plácido Domingo was the second-ranked tenor in the world of opera, and the story goes, he stopped the reigning king, Luciano Pavarotti, to ask him how he was feeling that day. "Fine," Pavarotti supposedly replied to his rival, "unfortunately for you." In any event, the world-famous singers have agreed to perform to-

gether for the first time in support of a common passion: soccer. To that end, they revealed last week that they will sing at a July 7 concert in Rome. Its purpose: to help Italy defray the costs of staging the following day's final game of the much-longed-for World Cup championship. Said Pavarotti: "We are artists who love football and we will put everything aside for the sport. We are not going to be there to see who is best, but for the sport." That is a game that only these two can play.



Lee Min-ho: TV is the popular choice

## Real culture in France

Many Frenchmen cherish the image of their country as a widely cultured land, a place where patrons of the arts move easily from attendance at a Molière play to a café discussion on the avant-garde philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre. But the French ministry of culture recently released a survey that paints a different picture. For one thing, the survey of 5,000 respondents aged 15 and older revealed that simply switching television is the most common cultural activity in France. Indeed, French viewers are now spending 20 hours per week before the TV set on average—up from the 16 hours per week recorded by a similar survey in 1973. The latest study, entitled *Cultural Practices of the French*, also revealed that 71 per cent of those interviewed have never attended a classical music concert and 55 per cent had never seen a play. Only one-third of the respondents had read any books recently, and so on: at that group had read more than two books during the past year. Philippe Lefebvre, a special adviser to Culture Minister Jack Lang, said that the study's findings had not surprised him. Said Lefebvre: "We French are so arrogant people, so what is important to us is to have the appearance of being cultured and not the fact." Call it a victory of form over content.

## Snooping on a grand scale

According to U.S. intelligence officials, the Soviet Union is expanding a large electronic listening post in Cuba. The officials predict that the base, located just east of Havana, will soon increase its power to intercept U.S. and Canadian government communications as well as phone calls that are transmitted by microwave relays across North America. According to Central Intelligence Agency director William Webster, one possible reason for expanded Soviet surveillance on East-West transatlantic waves could be information on still be useful in trade negotiations.

## SPECULATING ON HITLER'S BUNKER

Adolf Hitler committed suicide on April 30, 1945, as Soviet Red Army units advanced on the Führer's bunker. With that November's fall of the Berlin Wall, however, the great-covered rubble of the former site near the Brandenburg Gate has become one of Berlin's hottest properties. Indeed, several large firms have voiced interest in building an office tower on the site. At the same time, rival real-estate speculators Hans-Friedrich Müller expressed doubts that the site would be worked with a historical purpose. Said Müller: "We haven't decided yet what to do with the bunker, but we will take every precaution to prevent it from becoming a shrine for Nazi ideologues."

## THE FACTS OF THE MATTER

According to *New York Magazine*, author Margaret Atwood was the subject of an intense debate between the editors of another weekly journal, the venerable *New Yorker*, recently. The *New York* article claims that several members of *The New Yorker*'s fiction department were "up at arms" over a story that appeared in the March 5

issue. "Kat," Atwood's seven-page story, focuses on a woman who loses her job at a fashion magazine for being "too beautiful." Believing she conceals a secretly removed, evasive cast in a box of truffles that she sends to the man who succeeded her. But Atwood said that she was not at the *New Yorker* had informed her of any controversy. And Robert Gottlieb, that magazine's editor, maintained that Atwood had presented "an exaggerated account of routine editorial discussion." Rotation can be stranger than truth.



Atwood: subject of intense debate



Meet the man  
who's attended the  
launch of 36 ships,  
a flotilla of sloops,  
and 11,600,000  
parties.



The  
Captain  
just  
loves  
a good  
time.



## COLUMN



# Foreign ownership and racial bias

BY FRED BRUNING

**T**he Boeing Aircraft Co. will develop the proposed 767-X passenger jet without financing from the Japanese—a tremendous rebuff to the assured economic success and marketing genius who worried of deeper about it. Boeing seems to keep technological data for investment, tanks, and critics, Japan would emerge as a force in the aerospace industry and that would about wrap things up for U.S. manufacturers. Naturally, the last thing we want to do is compete, no-one, with the Japanese—in other words, on the ground, anywhere. We tried that with steam cars, automobiles and, parrot, it was no fun.

Whatever the reason, Japan does things right. We can pontificate forever about the strategic aspects of Asian culture and the magnetic approach of Japanese management. We can level our heads at about protectionist policies and the talk between government and industry in Japan. We can insist that the Japanese really aren't happy folks—that they are driven, single-minded, and, severely, would prefer to be in the United States, growing plump on real beer, fairs and fast pork ribs, but the last remark that these doles have the answer. Ride, craftsmanship, determination. Once again a time, we had the answer too.

That is the toughest part. We look at the Japanese and see what might have been—what used to be. Around the world, "Made in the U.S.A." was the golden label. Now the world is watching Sony and drinking Toyota and doing the weekly wash in machines by Toshiba. The best we can do is slap around "Buy American" bumper stickers on the fuming four-door motor surrounding about porcelains, politicians and hope for the best.

Instead of learning from Japan the way, ironically, that Japan learned from us, we prefer to keep plugging along no though it was treason to do anything else. We may not be money-blind, but at least we are going nowhere on our own terms. Lee Harvey can crow about "Admire Chrysler," but who is going to believe the hype any longer? Chrysler doesn't have the advan-

*When the traders  
and investors from  
Tokyo start dealing  
in greenbacks,  
many Americans  
get mighty nervous*

age, nor does Ford, Ford or General Motors. The biggest-selling auto in the United States is the Honda Accord—a car manufactured domestically by Americans using Japanese tech. Japan. American workers aren't stupid and aren't. Only their employers stand between them and success.

But we are a stubborn bunch, labor and management alike. A country that for most of the century thought of itself as preeminent—and don't forget it—may have terrible difficulty accepting evidence of decline. Our instinct is to train the opposition and explain that Japanese investors—American, aggressive and loaded with cash—are buying America whole-sale. What's happening here, we ask? Japan is taking the place away, piece by piece.

Last year, Sony got built of Columbia Pictures and it was as though Empress Hirohito had shown up in our soap "Japan invades Hollywood," cried a headline in *Newsweek*. When the Mitsubishi Estate Co. grabbed control of a group that counts Rockefeller Center among its holdings, we were told. The Japanese had appropriated the very soul of midtown Manhattan. The slating "The Christmas tree! It was too much. Aah! So sorry, the car commander who got blasted for alleged remarks toward blacks

and gays, joked with equality in a syndicated newspaper column about "Locke's Center" and suggested that the Japanese consider the "Great Canyon" was "Mount Rushmore" in its inherent possibilities. "The sagely anti-Japanese," announced Rooney "Don't ask me why just pretend, Japan."

So Columbia Pictures was gone and Rockefeller Center and then a Japanese firm offered \$1 billion to build out the U.S. company first ones 711. Nine things were going wrong. What was more American than the 711 stores, those heavenly exposures where, even at three in the morning, the shopper can come away with his filter tips or satsuma sandwich or container of Coke the size of a tropical fish tank? What have been the Japanese?

No surprise then to find that a poll earlier this year showed that 25 per cent of Americans had "generally unfriendly" feelings towards Japan—up six points from last June—or that a survey taken before the upheaval in Eastern Europe indicated that most U.S. citizens saw the Japanese economy as more of a threat than Mao's military. "I no longer have to feel guilty about not trading Japan and not particularly liking Japan," said columnist Mike Harkin of the Chicago Tribune. Of course he didn't have to feel guilty. Japan was gobbling America like it was a leading in the field. He's just not practicing the trade.

Here's the odd thing, though. It turns out that Japan is not picking us apart. The British have more money invested in the United States and Canadians hold 20 per cent of all foreign-owned U.S. real estate compared with 35 for the Japanese. Only two per cent of America's commercial property is in Japanese hands and, last year, new Japanese investment in real estate declined by 15 per cent to \$14.77 billion from 1988. As for Medicaid, the most notable scoundrel had from the New North and ran the For East, Tex. Canada owns 7.3 per cent of the Apple and Japan, 5.4.

No wonder there is talk of race being the issue. We say nothing about the British, Canadians, Dutch, West Germans, Swedes, French, Austrians and Belgians arrive with their backs at the rear, but when the traders from Tokyo start dealing in greenbacks, we get mighty nervous. "A whiff of McCarthyism is in the air," observed *Forbes* magazine in a February cover story. "Suddenly the Japanese have become the people a day."

Our bias is especially absurd because we need Japanese money and we need a bumpy Japan has cash it must spend. More than a few American businesses are starved for funds. If the Japanese did not invest in America, many factories here, the European sector would shut. Interest rates would rise, the economy would slow, the dollar would fall, inflation would push ahead. At that point, our troops would be parachuting into Tokyo with offers and apologies. It is in our best interest to quit the course, acknowledge and acknowledge that Japan has become an economic force in the strength of ingenuity and hard work. It is also in our best interest to start asking what has become of us.

# FALLOUT FROM A FIERY DEATH

## A FATAL MIDAIR ACCIDENT RAISES NEW QUESTIONS OVER THE SAFETY OF CANADA'S FIGHTER PLANES

**T**he accident at the skies over West Germany last week occurred suddenly—and with tragic consequences. At about 4 p.m. on April 17, two sleek Canadian Panavia CF-18 Hornets in a training manoeuvre approached the south-western city of Karlsruhe, flying at an altitude of about 9,000 feet. Witnesses later said that the fighter jets suddenly veered into a U-turn and disappeared into clouds.

Then, they collided, sending fiery debris raining down over Karlsruhe, a city of 385,000. One of the pilots, 35-year-old Capt. Reginald deCourcey de Jouglaire, was ejected to eject safely, suffering no broken bones when he landed near a busy highway. But the other pilot, Capt. Timothy Lewy, 30, of Montreal, Que., died after failing to eject. The accident brought to 13 the number of CF-18s that have crashed since Canada began acquiring 138 of the U.S.-built aircraft in 1982. And, for Lewy's family, grief was compounded by the fact that the pilot had just completed his tour of duty in Europe. Says his father, Stanley Lewy: "He was really looking forward to his coming home."

The accident came at an uncertain time for Canada's beleaguered military. With the decline at Expo West tensions, a debate is taking

place within the defence department over whether the military should be radically shored from a combat force into an organization more committed to peacekeeping and civilian duties—such as the war against drugs. Last week's tragedy, only underscored that debate. It also angered West Germans, who have been urging NATO to curtail its training flights. And because the jets were the third and fourth CF-18s to crash since January, the collision renewed debate about the safety of the \$25-million planes and the effectiveness of Canada's fighter-pilot training program.

Still, many experts said that the incidents, however tragic, were simply part of the accepted risks of flying fighter jets at speeds approaching twice the speed of sound. Said Maj. Richard Darlington, 34, a CF-18 flight instructor at the Canadian Forces base in Cold Lake, Alta.: "If you're going to take an airplane like this and to use it as a demanding mission, there is risk involved." Added Darlington, who has logged almost 1,200 hours on CF-18s: "It's a greater risk driving from here to Edmonton on the highway than doing the most demanding F-18 mission."

But if pilots accept the risks of flying fighter jets, many West Germans are approaching the issue of safety. Although only two pilots on the ground were injured as a result of the accident, debris ignited a number of fires at Karlsruhe—and inflamed an already unending debate over NATO air exercises. Opposition politicians quickly renewed demands that Chretien's Helmut Kohl must open an end to training flights over populated areas. Kohl's government responded by asking Canada to suspend its flights. Shortly after, Maj.-Gen. Brian Swan, commander of the Canadian Forces in Europe, announced that, while some training flights would continue, dogfights would be suspended "until the cause of Tuesday's crash has been identified."

to training flights over populated areas. Kohl's government responded by asking Canada to suspend its flights. Shortly after, Maj.-Gen. Brian Swan, commander of the Canadian Forces in Europe, announced that, while some training flights would continue, dogfights would be suspended "until the cause of Tuesday's crash has been identified."



Debris from CF-18: driving at "a greater risk"

But that investigation may take months to complete. And in the meantime, questions again surfaced about the reliability of the Hornets, which is also used by Spain, Australia and the U.S. navy. According to many independent experts, early fires in the CF-18s have long since been corrected. "Overall, it's right on its feet," said Alan Dettie, editor of *Australian and Aerospace* magazine in Toronto. And Canadian military spokesmen pointed out that only one of the nine CF-18 crashes prior to last week's tragedy had resulted from mechanical failure. And although they acknowledged that CF-18s have now crashed at the rate of 0.687 per 10,000 flight hours—higher than the usually estimated rate of 0.560—Mark Day, news editor of the London-based *Journal of Defence Weekly*, noted that such an estimate was "below average" for the aircraft.

But the explanations failed to mollify some observers. Alexander Macdonald, executive di-

rector of the Canadian Institute for Strategic Studies, noted that the most important thing is "ensuring that our capability and safety is to have well-trained pilots." He said "And you can only train by flying." In fact, Canadian CF-18 pilots log an average of 340 flight hours a year—more than the maximum that NATO prescribes for pilots to maintain their combat skills. And it is considerably more than the flight hours logged by NATO allies such as Belgium, whose pilots log a mere 120 hours. Said Paul Berens, a Janer's editor: "Canada is amongst the best in the world—flying one of the best aircraft in the world."

That reputation has made Canadian fighter pilots a valuable commodity. Although Canada's air force should have 5,200 pilots, there are about 1,900 in effect. Last year alone, 200 pilots left—some for jobs with commercial airlines. "We just cannot compete dollarwise with the commercial carriers," explained Col. Conrad Pica, who heads up a defence department study of why pilots are leaving. And he said that Canada's fighter pilots can get in only one four-year tour of duty on CF-18 before they are assigned to less exciting duties and then move back into civilian life. Said Dettie: "The kind who are leaving have done their tour and know they'll never get another chance."

But Pica noted that the uncertainty over the future of the Canadian Armed Forces may also be affecting the mood. "The changing world makes them question whether they have a future in the Forces," he said. Others say that the government must move to end the uncertainty. "As long as the fighter community is given a solid role, even if it is searching for drug smugglers, then we'll probably have very high morale," Darlington said.

But, for the moment, a dogfight role for the Canadian military is still a matter of debate. And at the moment, Darlington acknowledged that almost every fighter pilot has probably considered a civilian career. "The lure is so attractive," he said and Lewy's father said last week that his son's goal had been to fly commercially. It was not until that came to a sudden end in the cloudy West German sky

FEETER NOVILEN, with PETER LEWY in Brussels and STEVE BRILLANT in Ottawa

## National Notes

### FIRE FEE CHARGES

Ottawa Promotional Public charged five teenagers, aged 15 to 17—whose names cannot be released under terms of the Young Offenders Act—\$500 each for litter in February on stacks of about 14 million used tires in Hagersville, Ont. The fine, in a case used to show how intended for recycling, burned for 37 days. Tires smolder from the blaze forced hundreds of local residents to evacuate their homes.

### ATLANTIC STRENGTH

Novo Scotia Premier John Buchanan provided a flurry of criticism when he said that the Atlantic provinces would have "no choice" but to consider joining the United States if the Meech Lake constitutional accord failed and Quebec left Canada. Reversing himself a day later, Buchanan said that a seceding, united Canada was the only acceptable alternative.

### SHARE IS CHARGED

Police in Toronto charged former Liberal fund-raiser Patricia Starr with one count of fraud over \$1,000 for making false representations in connection with a provincial grant to a charity that Starr headed. A public inquiry into allegations that Starr made improper political donations from charity funds closed operations earlier this month after the Supreme Court of Canada ruled it unconstitutional.

### A SCOLDING FOR FISHERMEN

Politicians Minister Bernard Valcourt led a meeting of fishing executives in Halifax that has many Atlantic Canadians work in their industry for only 10 weeks a year in order to live for the rest of the year on unemployment insurance. He asked that the practice of ending the work ethic in Atlantic Canada.

### DEATH IN THE MOUNTAINS

Three Alberta died and five other people were injured when a Bell 212 helicopter crashed during takeoff at the mountain resort near Blue River, B.C. The passengers were bound for a strong and snow-covered mountain.

### A BALANCED BUDGET?

In what was widely called as an "election" budget, B.C. Finance Minister Mel Cosentino balanced his province's budget for the second consecutive year and did not raise taxes. But opposition Tory critics charged that the finance minister used accounting devices to disguise a \$684-million deficit in the \$15.3-billion operating plan. Although Premier Bill Vander Zalm does not have to call an election next year, he said that he is "thinking to go."



Smaller dogfights on hold



Montreal schoolchildren: a proposal for French-only hallways and playgrounds

## A schoolyard battle

Montrealers debate new language proposals

**L**a Deservière is a sprawling, grey brick senior high school in the largely working-class Montreal suburb of Ahuntsic. Within its classrooms, the official language of instruction is French, but the first language of roughly 70 per cent of La Deservière's 770 students is not. The youngsters are the sons and daughters of immigrants, primarily Greek and Italian, who, under Quebec law, must attend French schools. And when the teenagers meet to gossip outside the classroom, French often comes second to their native tongues—*en* to English. Of his conversations with fellow first-generation Canadians, Italy Chachyris, the 16-year-old son of Armenian parents, observed, "We talk to each other in English." But when students at La Deservière are caught speaking that language—or any language other than French—Chachyris complained, "We have to wipe our lips." Soon, similarly stern rules limiting the language of school halls and playgrounds may extend to dozens of other Montreal schools.

La Deservière's principal, Robert Clôt, is among the strongest supporters of a proposal to sharply restrict what language young Quebecers may speak outside the classroom. The Montreal Catholic School Commission (MCSC), which operates La Deservière along with 194 other city schools, is considering an outright ban on the use of any language but French by 78,306 of its students and staff. And the prob-

ation would apply not only in the classrooms. Students would be required to speak only French in the corridors, in school buildings, in the school yards and at school-sponsored extracurricular events. Failure to comply could mean transfer to another school, suspension or even, in the case of repeated violations, expulsion. Declared Clôt, who helped draft the commission's proposed policy: "We have used lots of carrots, and we were extremely sparing in the use of the stick—until now."

The proposal has attracted widespread criticism from Quebec Education Minister Claude Ryan, among others. Still, the commission's proposal addresses a demographic challenge that increasingly worries the province's francophone majority: how to integrate a swelling immigrant population—88 per cent of which does not speak French—into the province's shrinking linguistic mainstream. Compensating the challenge is francophone Quebec's troubling birth rate. It is a problem that the Parti Québécois sought to address in its 1977 French Language Charter known as Bill 101, which required all nonemployment institutions—and even some employees—to attend French-language schools. But that measure has had an unintended result: many French schools are now dominated by nonfrancophone students, dubbed allophones.

Nowhere is the problem more acute than in Montreal's Roman Catholic school system,

appreciation for the school board's dilemma. "I am sympathetic," said Jean Rothman, a member of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal. "But at the same time, you cannot capture people's hearts and minds by force." Rothman's concern is widely shared. For his part, Ryan endorsed the French-only requirement for instruction in MCSC French schools.

"But," he added, "when it comes to private activities, recreational activities, I don't think any rules should try to control those." The strongest disavowal, however, has come from an important alliance of human rights groups, representatives of Quebec's Jewish community and the city's largest French teachers' union. "You don't impose culture by law," said Denis Gervais, president of the Alliance des professeurs de Montréal, which represents 8,600 French Catholic teachers. "This is a sure way of making that culture detested."

Indeed, its controversial playground language proposal is not the first time the MCSC has found its desires of French order struck. Last November, the same board ignited a controversy with a proposal to survey parents to discover whether they would support segregating Quebec-born and immigrant students in separate schools. That scheme was dropped in the face of widespread public outcry. The board's latest endeavor in schooling is to go before the school commissioners for final approval in June. But MCSC Chairman Michel Pelissier, far from, is firmly behind the restrictions. "We want to enhance the value of the French language and the French culture in our schools," he declared, when the commission unanimously approved the projected new policy in principle on April 4. What the MCSC must decide between now and June is whether that goal can best be achieved by trying to limit the scope for other languages.

BARRY CAME in Montreal

Roughly 30 per cent of students in the MCSC's 195 French-language schools are so-called allophones. And according to commission officials, Ahuntsic's La Deservière school is only one of about 35 institutions where anywhere between 50 and 90 per cent of the student population is from ethnic language groups other than French or English.

The wave of nonfrancophone immigration has provoked concern well beyond Montreal's schools. Last fall, during campaigning for the Sept. 23 provincial election, Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa, for one, cited the demographic pressure on native francophone Quebecers "the most important challenge of the decade" for the province. And even some allophones have expressed



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CANADA

## Challenge in Alberta

*The Reform Party may take on Getty's Tories*

When the Reform Party of Canada was founded in Winnipeg 2½ years ago, its objective was to strengthen Western Canada's voice in Ottawa. After capturing 72 of the 86 seats west of Ontario in the 1988 federal election, the new party scored a breakthrough on March 13 last year when Reform candidate Deborah Gony won a House of Commons seat in a federal by-election in Beaver River, Alta. Seven months later, the party again demonstrated its strength in Alberta when Reformers Stanley Waters, a retired Canadian Armed Forces general, won a unique provincially-run poll to choose a candidate for a vacant Senate seat in Ottawa. Now, buoyed by opinion polls that placed it strongly ahead of all other parties in provincial popularity, the Reform Party is actively debating whether it should form a provincial wing to challenge Alberta's long-entrenched, but clearly unpopular, Progressive Conservative government.

Indeed, when the Reform Party avoided a series of local meetings to discuss that question, attention at the four sessions that, by the end of last week, had been held in

different Alberta centres quickly focused unwaveringly on Alberta's 18-year-old Tory government—and the leadership, since 1985 of Premier Donald Getty. The series of meetings follow the publication last month of a poll conducted by the Winnipeg-based Angus Reid Group, which indicated that the Reform Party could have swept a provincial election held at the time. According to Reid, 43 per cent of divided voters would have opted for the Reform Party, 30 per cent for the Liberals and 19 for the PCs. The related Times trailed with 18 per cent.

Despite that, many Reform members expressed reservations about forming a provincial wing. Reform Party Leader Preston Manning himself has reacted coolly to suggestions that his organization should take on the provin-

cial Tories. "The Reform Party was created to work for major changes in the federal system," Manning told a meeting in the central Alberta town of Cochrane. "My own preference is to remain a federal party. If we get fighting provincially, the chances of achieving our federal reforms are diminished."

For his part, Getty earlier this month accidentally sought off an attempt by grassroots Conservatives to submit his leadership of the party to a review by its membership. And only 13 months ago, one week after Reform's latest by-election victory, the provincial Tories won 59 of the 83 Alberta legislative seats. A provincial election need not be held before 1994. For his part, the secretary of the Reform Party task force met during the meetings, Virgil Anderson, declared last week in Calgary that "There is no question that a political vacuum exists in the province."

But, Anderson also acknowledged that the Progressive Conservative government is "drained."

Still, a successful Reform Party assault on the Edmonton legislature would follow historical patterns in Alberta politics: Proton-based governments—the United Farmers of Alberta



Getty: fast in the polls

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## CANADA

In 1981, Social Credit in 1986 and the Tories in 1987—all spent long-entrenched governments and began lengthy eras of their own. And there is no question that Getty's Conservatives are deeply unpopular among Alberta voters. Even Reformers, however, acknowledge that much of that unpopularity is a byproduct of disaffection with the national Conservative government. Such federal programs as the proposed Goods and Services Tax, as well as the Meach Lake constitutional accord, are deeply resented in Alberta and vocally opposed by the Reform Party. "Conservatives like me are discredited," said Jacques Delor, 63, a retired Calgary businessman who attended last week's Reform Party meeting in Calgary. "I would like Brian Mulroney, and he is destroying the party," he added. Much of Getty's personal unpopularity, in turn, is based on a perception that he lacks influence in Ottawa. That includes having been unable to persuade Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to appoint Waters to the Senate.

Despite their unpopularity, Alberta's Tories



Managing: a promise to accept what the party decides

appear determined to resist any major changes of direction. At the provincial party's annual convention in Calgary from April 6 to 8, after listening to Getty deliver an impassioned speech in defence of national unity, 3,389 Tories defeated several motions calling on the legislature to withdraw its support for Meach Lake. Delegates also voted down a

resolution calling for leadership reviews every two years.

Still, many Reformers clearly perceive a political opening that they believe their party should seize. A recent party survey of 5,000 of Alberta's 15,000 members found 60 per cent favoured establishing a provincial party. But opponents of that step argue that the party should not divert scarce party resources from the drive for federal influence. Reform Party strategists claim that the party could capture at least 24 federal seats across the West in the next national election—giving it a strong base from which to press for such key goals as Senate reform and dramatic cuts in federal spending.

The Reform Party's debate is likely to preoccupy Alberta's members for many months. The party task force conducting the post-mortem of meetings on the issue plans to hold a total of 11 sessions before the consultations end in Port McMurray on April 30. The 14-member group then will make a recommendation to the party's annual convention in Saskatoon next year. For his part, Manning, who was in Saskatchewan late last week to raise his party's profile in that province, told Manning's that he will abide by whatever his party decides. Finally, whatever the decision, it will be watched closely in Edmonton and Ottawa alike.

JOHN HOWSE is in Calgary with DALE KEISLER as Editor.

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a ship unilaterally. On April 13, he warned that he would authorize an economic blockade if Lithuania's leadership did not act within 48 hours to resolve a series of laws asserting the republic's independence. In a joint statement with Prime Minister Nikolai Rubtsov, Gorbachev said that failure to do so would mean that other republics would "wrap supplies of these essential products sold on external markets for freely convertible currency."

Many observers say that the embargo opens the door to a complex economic battle that could seriously harm both sides. In the weeks before the cutoff, many Lithuanians made private preparations. Lithuanian journalists in the republic, which has recently begun to open to foreign reporters, told *World*'s by telephone that lines at gas stations in Vilnius, the capital, extended for as many as three city blocks and that gas consumption was up to the usual level. Gasoline rationing went into effect last Friday, but former Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, who now heads the republic's Emergency Coordination Council, said that such measures would not be enough to prevent a "critical situation" within two weeks. Then, Lithuania's deputy prime minister, Bronislavas Ozolas, also announced that shipments of sugar and fish had been diverted from the republic.

Conceded Alina Motulskaitis, an official in the republic's legislature: "There is great anxiety among the people." Moscow is clearly counting on that emotion. The Soviet media have recently run a series of articles on the positive financial benefits that they claim the republic gains from membership in the Soviet Union. The Moscow-based newspaper *Sobremennye Dela* (Country Life) estimated last week that the value of Soviet goods imported into Lithuania exceeds the value of its exports by more than \$7 billion a year. The newspaper declared that, if Lithuania continues to insist on independence, "only very active people could seriously hope that [Moscow] would continue its live, powerful financial support."

But Lithuanians replied that their republic has economic weapons of its own. Although milk and meat are rationed in most of the country, Lithuania produces a surplus of both items and exports them to the rest of the country. The republic also produces textiles, which it exports to factories across the U.S.S.R. Declared Teklas Matulevicius, a member of Lithuania's legislature, "Moscow should realize that these actions directly affect many people who have nothing to do with this situation."

After many Lithuanians complained that they had been deserted internationally, support outside the Soviet Union appeared to be increasing last week. Officials of the five-writer Nordic Council considered plans for a visit to the Soviet Union that Gorbachev had personally extended to them. They cited the Kremlin's refusal to allow them to visit Lithuania, whose prime minister, Kazemiera Pranasaitis, spent part of last week in Norway making emergency contacts with kindred spirits. In Washington, Senate Republican Minority Leader Robert Dole appealed for direct financial aid to Lithuania, in response to that and other steps, the Soviet foreign ministry issued a statement condemning "interference in internal affairs" by "diverse American elements seeking to damage Soviet-American relations."

But those angry words could not mask growing Soviet concern over that issue. On May 24, negotiations are scheduled to resume in Paris to complete a U.S.-Soviet trade agreement in time for the Bush-Gorbachev summit, which is scheduled to begin in Washington on May 30. The trade pact was expected to prompt Washington to grant most-favored-nation trading status to the Soviets. Last week, however, Secretary of State James Baker warned that, in the event of an economic crackdown on the use of force against Lithuania, "it would be difficult to see some of the commercial aspects of our relationship surviving."

Such pressure may be having no impact. Said one Moscow-based Western diplomat: "After all they have done to improve their international image, they are horrified that it may slip away." Some Soviet officials hinted that, partly because of international pressures, Moscow may soften the measures that it wants Lithuania must take to have the embargo lifted. One foreign ministry official told *World* that the principal Soviet demand is for Lithuania to agree to hold a referendum on independence. In that event, said the official, "all sorts of things could then be opened for negotiation." But last week, as their war of words spilled onto a new, economic front, the two sides appeared to have confrontation over cooperation.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH is in Moscow with WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington.

#### Presidential defiance



ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH is in Moscow with WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington.

## World Notes

### A CONTRA CEASEFIRE

In Myanmar, the U.S.-backed austral rebels agreed to a ceasefire with the leftist, Soviet-style government, making eight years of war. The contract said that they would begin discussing their troops in Bhamo on April 25, the inauguration day for president-elect Vota Chinnor, and end the process by June 19. Chinnor's National Opponent Union defeated the Santhaw in February elections.

### THE NEW NEPAL

After months of pro-democracy demonstrations in the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal, King Birendra announced the death of office to Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, the head of Nepal's first elected government with prime powers in almost three decades.

### A PRICE IN THE GAIN PIZZEL

Greek officials said that they had discovered a truck loaded from Britain to Iraq with a 28.5-ton "weapons system" that was thought to be part of a "supergun," which Britain has accused Iraq of trying to assemble. The driver's documents indicated that the cargo was a steel tube.

### SOLIDARITY REJECTS WILKES

In Gdansk, nearly 500 delegates representing Solidarity's 2.2 million members re-elected Lech Walesa as chairman. Walesa confirmed that he would run for the presidency again. Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, but the conference lacked the influence of Solidarity's early days. Since winning power last year, the trade union has been in the awkward position of backing a government whose solidarity measures have thrown many out of work.

### OUT OF ISOLATION

In a major break with the isolationist past of Europe's left orthodox Communist state, Albanian leader Enver Hoxha dropped decades of opposition to diplomatic ties with Moscow and Washington. But Hoxha made it clear that Albania would not follow other Eastern European countries in abandoning one-party Communist rule.

### CONTESTANT IMMIGRATION

In a significant victory for Britain's Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Parliament voted in favor of a controversial bill to grant full British citizenship to as many as 225,000 Hong Kong residents in advance of the British colony's transfer to Communist Chinese rule in 1997. About 90 Conservative MPs voted against the bill, saying that it contradicted the party's commitment to tighten immigration laws.

Motorists line up for gasoline in Vilnius: a complex economic battle that could seriously harm both sides

## WORLD

# ECONOMIC WARFARE

As the weeks of increasingly angry threats from Moscow, reports of the measure reached residents of Lithuania in almost infinitesimal fashion. At 9:55 p.m. last Wednesday, Bronas Vainorius, the director of the republic's only oil refinery, received a telephone call from an official in the Soviet Union's oil and gas ministry. The official, reading from a prepared statement, told Vainorius that, because of a decision by the Soviet Council of Ministers, "we are halting pumping of crude oil to your refinery." Five minutes later, Vainorius said, the single pipeline feeding the plant from the city of Polotsk, 250 km northeast of Vilnius, was shut off. But the decision, which cut off Lithuania's only existing source of oil, provoked further defiance from the breakaway republic's leaders. The measure, and Vytautas Landsbergis, Lithuania's president, represented "economic

## MOSCOW MOVES TO BLOCK OIL, GAS AND FOOD SHIPMENTS TO REBELLIOUS LITHUANIA

warfare against a neighboring country." The embargo, which also includes the cessation of natural gas and some food supplies, represented a substantial escalation to Moscow's efforts to bring the tiny republic to heel.

And it prompted growing, if cautious, international condemnation. President George Bush warned that an economic blockade of Lithuania would result in his country's taking unspecified "appropriate" actions in response. Other countries, including France and Britain, also expressed concern. In Ottawa, External Affairs representative Patricia Low-Belard said that the embargo is "clearly not a helpful move" and urged both sides to reach a mutually acceptable resolution. But tensions increased last Friday when 50 Soviet soldiers forced their way into a Lithuanian printing plant and beat up nearly 30 people, in the latest in a series of raids on government buildings.

The Soviet embargo was clearly expected. Since March 11, when Lithuania's newly elected legislature voted to declare independence, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has repeatedly insisted that the republic could not take such

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## Towards a new Europe

Václav Havel calls for self-determination

On Dec. 28, 1989, the Czechoslovakian parliament elected a divided parliament turned parliament. Václav Havel is the country's first non-Communist president since 1948. Havel, 53, who spent five years in prison for his political beliefs, leads an interim government until multiparty elections on June 8. Maclean's Correspondent Jorge Sanabria, who was in the country from Czechoslovakia in 1939, interviewed Havel in their native tongue earlier this month at the presidential retreat outside Prague. Excerpts.

**Maclean's:** On April 8, you met with representatives of Central and Eastern European countries in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia. What kind of relationships are you attempting to forge with these countries?

**Havel:** All of Europe is in a state of flux and, looking ahead five or 15 years, we must be concerned about Czechoslovakia's role in the new Europe. The meeting in Bratislava was unconventional in that, in addition to the heads of state and the foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, it was also attended by the foreign ministers of three other countries (Italy, Austria and Yugoslavia), plus representatives of political parties and factions which may, some day, succeed to positions of power. Everybody agreed that we should work towards solutions to our problems, possibly on the basis of bilateral economic agreements, and that we will try to arrive at a common declaration of principles concerning the future integration of Europe, and concerning ways in which countries that have been isolated by the Iron Curtain from the free part of Europe might gradually become part of the European community.

**Maclean's:** So you are talking about an all-European federation rather than just those countries that were represented at the meeting. Havel: I am talking about various stages of a gradual integration of Europe. Let's say that a federation at all of Europe is our ultimate goal, although presumably a fairly distant one. As far as these countries were concerned that have had, until recently, a totalitarian regime, we use the word "co-ordination." In other words, we should co-ordinate our activities rather than trying to outdo each other, help each other so that all of us will have a better chance to succeed.

But there is also a more profound reason. We are bound together by a common experience which we have undergone and, above all, by the ideals which prompted us to fight that totalitarian system, by the principle of human rights,

which is inalienable. An attack against freedom anywhere in the world is, to us, an attack against our own freedom. The principles for which we fought should become the basis of the policies of our countries. So these principles



Havel: 'The goal is an integrated Europe'

account us to a kind of solidarity and co-operation.

**Maclean's:** Do you foresee some sort of revival of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or at least a federation that might be a counterweight to a united Germany?

**Havel:** In my opinion, a Central or Central-Eastern European union as a counterweight to Germany would not be an ideal solution. The goal as I see it is an integrated Europe, although, along the way, in the transitional phases, we may see the creation of regional groups such as an Adriatic working group, and we talked (in Bratislava) about a possible parallel Baltic group linking Poland and the Scandinavian countries, with Czechoslovakia as a link between the two. The idea would be not to create a "corridor" between Germany and a disintegrating Soviet Union. Rather, we envis-

aged it as a way for those countries which have previously been isolated from Europe to become gradually integrated with it.

**Maclean's:** Talking about the Soviet Union, what do you think about events in Lithuania? Do you consider them a danger to the stability of the Soviet Union or do you believe that, as you say, freedom is inalienable?

**Havel:** I believe, and I said so in Bratislava, that it is in the best interest of all nations within the Soviet Union, in the interest of Europe and of the entire world, that the Soviet Union should, as quickly and peacefully as possible, find a solution that would provide its various nationalities with whatever measure of self-determination they desire. This is a gigantic task with which the Soviet Union is struggling.

Lithuania is a kind of laboratory of the future of the entire Soviet Union. Poland's President Lech Wałęsa is restrained and careful with regard to Lithuania's demands for independence, not because he is a friend of Gorbachev's and doesn't want to complicate his life, but because he is afraid that these rapid demands for emancipation are fueling Russian chauvinism, a Great-Russian nationalism. And he is concerned that the Communist empire, the Stalinist endorsement of nations, might be replaced by a totalitarian Russian republic whose nation would be to recognize what has been lost. I believe that is true.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that the Soviet leadership should realize the inevitability of people's desire for self-determination. When I was travelling in the Soviet Union in the 1960s, I had the impression that, sooner or later, this desire for independence would inevitably reach the Soviet empire. I thought it would take approximately 50 years as it takes out, it took only 50.

**Maclean's:** Does it worry you as an nationalist nationalist as many countries, including parts of Czechoslovakia?

**Havel:** This was an inevitable development. After so many years of suppression of national identities, there was bound to be a reaction in the form of nationalism and chauvinism. That is a phase that nations have to experience before they find a political expression of their independence, and before they realize that these factors are in co-operation and co-ordination with nations which have found their identity and, therefore, don't need this kind of nationalism and chauvinism. These are childhood diseases which every nation must endure before it reaches the age of reason.

**Maclean's:** What were your impressions of Canada during your February visit?

**Havel:** Through I was only in Canada for two days, I came away with many impressions. Talking about physical aspects of the country, I was fascinated by its clear air and clean water. I was surprised, for instance, to learn that I was drinking tap water; so rare in Czechoslovakia

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WORLD



Pro-democracy demonstrations in Prague: a need for an 'existential revolution'

would do that. I had an impression of a smoothly functioning democracy. Seeing that we, too, are building a federal system in our country, I was intrigued by the relationship in Canada between individual provinces and the federal government. For me, it was tremendously interesting to find that, in the provinces, the governing party is often the one that is in opposition at the federal level.

Some suggestions we received from the Canadian government are, in my opinion, extremely important. The huge united Germany next door to us, with its enormous potential, is of course an extremely important economic partner. But I consider it important that we should also build economic relationships with other, more distant countries.

**Maclean's:** You often speak about spiritual matters and, within the first few months of your presidency, you have invited religious leaders, including the Dalai Lama, to Czechoslovakia. Why?

**Havel:** There are several aspects to this. The first is strictly personal and not particularly significant, namely that I am attracted by people who have some spiritual horizon. More important is the fact that, if mankind is to survive and not become extinct within a relatively short time, either because we are breathing carbon monoxide instead of oxygen, or because of the explosion of nuclear weapons, or because there will soon be 20 billion people on earth of whom 10 billion will be starving—if mankind is to survive all these and other catastrophes, there will be a need of what I call

an awakening on the part of human beings, an existential revolution, a victory of the spirit over materialism. To achieve that, it is important that a growing people with spiritual horizons should participate in public life.

**Maclean's:** Your countrymen say that, for the first time in decades, they feel proud of being Czechoslovakians, of being able to say that Havel is their president.

**Havel:** I am of course moved by what you say. I agree that a worthy president who is respected by his fellow citizens as well as abroad is needed during this confused, non-constitutional period. But that must not be the case in the future. Democracy must not depend on one person, everybody must be responsible. If the president were to die or if someone were to murder him, there must be 10 other people who are capable of stepping into his shoes, and who are just as qualified as he is.

**Maclean's:** But as long as you are president, are you enjoying yourself?

**Havel:** Oh, the whole, no. For me, it is a sacrifice, it's a lot like going to jail. But people persuaded me that it was for the public good.

**Maclean's:** Someday do you think you will write a play about it all?

**Havel:** I don't think I could, because our revolution and our presidency is a drama that was written by someone above, and we are mere actors or assistant directors. I wouldn't want to write an imitation of a play that has been written by someone above all of us. Some people may call the author the Almighty; materialists would say it was written by history. I

# Caribbean communism

Castro fights to preserve his revolution

In Cuba, one of the few countries that still admires the devices of capitalism, television, air conditioning, not consumerism, and the latest bling to adorn buildings, street corners and even restaurants across the Caribbean island practices defiance that Cuba remains true to Marx and Lenin. For socialism with Fidel, no matter what happens. The slogan is part of 60-year-old Cuban President Fidel Castro's battle against what he calls the catastrophic economic and political reforms sweeping Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that Castro considers that it will be a difficult fight. For the past three decades, Soviet subsidies have propped up the Cuban economy. And in recent speeches on television and in Havana's giant Plaza de la Revolución, Castro has repeatedly told Cuba's 10.4 million citizens that they will face serious hardships if the country's Communist allies withdraw their support. But he insists that Cuba will never follow the capitalist road. Declared Castro last week. "Better to be alone than in bad company."

So far, few Cubans have expressed open opposition to the Castro regime. But all the economic situation deteriorates much further, and Western experts say that it will, Castro's position could become more tenuous. Last week, Cuba and the Soviet Union signed a trade pact worth \$4.8 billion for 1996, extending Cuba's favorable trade relations with Moscow for another year. But Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, mired in deep economic troubles of his own, is facing increasing pressure to curtail Soviet aid to the Soviet Union. Castro's old enemy, communist in Havana. In March, the Americans began beaming a Spanish-language television channel, TV Martí, to Cuba. And President George Bush has talked repeatedly—and to the Cubans, ostensibly—about seeking a fully democratic hemisphere. Cuban officials say that Orinoco can play a role in defining imperial tensions. This week, Louise Perle, an assistant deputy minister for External Affairs, is visiting Havana at the head of the most senior American delegation to go to Cuba in three years. Her mission a partly to urge the Cubans to begin negotiating openly with their neighbors. But Castro has long insisted that, as Castro faces growing economic difficulties, anti-American rhetoric has become an increasingly useful political tool.

Castro insists that neither a decrease in Soviet aid nor what he calls "sabotage" of Cuban institutions from the United States will overthrow his revolutionary government. And so far, he remains in control. Unlike in Eastern Europe, where the Soviets supported communism after the Second World War, Castro led a homegrown rebel band that helped to

telephone lines are no longer connected. A 1987 government plan promised 250,000 new apartments in Havana by the year 2000, but Cubans say that bureaucrats and other citizens officially recognized as "good revolutionaries" get apartments first. "You won't find a single government functionary in this neighborhood," complained a woman who lives in downtown Havana in an apartment that has had no running water for a month.

Recently, Castro has warned Cubans to take care of the clothes they have. He has announced contingency plans for a so-called special period if economic difficulties in the Soviet Union force Moscow to slash its subsidies. "We are daily looking for ways to solve problems in the U.S.S.R.," he said. In the special period, the government would cut electricity consumption by half and impose a moratorium on building houses, schools and clinics. But Castro



Castro (left) with Gorbachev mounting pressure to curtail Soviet financial aid

overthrew Cuban Fulbrighter Batista in 1959. Since then, Castro's regime has introduced free health care and education and a small, but guaranteed, income. Cubans live better than most of their Latin American neighbors. But there has been little progress in the past decade.

Shortages of eggs and other basic foods have increased in the past year, and many Cubans privately express discontent that shoes and clothing are again in short supply. A middle-aged woman with two children traded pesos on the black market until she had accumulated \$150 U.S. Then, she found a foreigner to go to a tourist-only store and buy imported shoes for her family. "We have everything here," complained a house painter. "They can, health care. But try to buy pants in shops."

Money is also a problem. In central Havana, many families are crisscrossed into small apartments in crumbling buildings where the

units that the state would continue to provide basic health care and education. "Wherever we have," he said recently, "we will distribute evenly among everyone."

So far, complaints about economic conditions have not led to an upsurge in dissident activities. In part, that may be because of a government crackdown. On March 10, eight members of a leading dissident group, the Pro-Human Rights Party, were arrested for holding illegal meetings. And Castro has put the Government for the Defense of the Revolution, a neighborhood organization that works for so-called counter-revolutionary activity, under direct military command. Those committees, organized in 162,000 neighborhoods throughout Cuba, have increased their vigilance. "Internal enemies are real," said Proceso Moya, a committee spokesman. "It would be a lie to say all Cubans are revolutionaries. The ones who have gone to Miami will never be revolutionaries



Anti-Communist Cuban exiles in Florida preparing to overthrow Castro's regime

and they have relatives here."

The Cubans are hardly aware that the exile community in Miami, seeing communists rampant in Eastern Europe, has become confident of the Cuban regime's demise. And many Cubans maintain that the exile community actively works for that overthrow. Cuban exiles make up the majority of the 1,400-men, U.S.-supported invasion force that Castro's soldiers routed at the Bay of Pigs in 1961.

Several Cuban newspapers defended U.S. reports that exiles are already drawing up plans for a post-Communist government. "They're still making talk of themselves in Miami," the Communist party daily Granma said in an editorial. "And here in Cuba we just carry on laughing at these suggestions from such mental cripples." Still, since the American invasion of Panama last December, Castro has spoken frequently of the threat of another American

attack—and of the "rivers of blood" that would follow such an attempt.

The regime's dovishness toward that Castro is playing up the threat of American intervention to keep people's minds off their economic difficulties. U.S. experts say that Bush is unlikely to launch a Cuban invasion. Instead, they say, Bush agreed to the TV Martí broadcasts to quiet the anti-Communist clamor among conservative Americans. But some Western observers say that the news and entertainment channel, beamed from Florida, has played into Castro's hands. It took only about 20 minutes for the Cubans to jam the first U.S. broadcast at 8:45 a.m. on March 27. And, just in case citizens missed that live-night news, Cuba TV reran footage of the TV Martí logo being quickly covered by the black-and-gray stripes of Cuban jamming.

Cuban loyalty to Castro runs deep, especially among those who lived before the revolution. Alberto Pina, 44, a pop musician and the son of a truck driver, said that he remembers people coming in his home to beg for food during Batista's time. "I wouldn't want to go back to that world," Pina said. "I just want to tell the North Americans. Let me live like this." It remains uncertain what effect further hardship will have on Cuba's political landscape. But, for the time being, Castro is clearly far from the precipice of a political overthrow.

MARY NEMETZ with MARK ZUKLANSKY in Havana and ANJALY MCKENZIE in Washington

## BIG DREAMS IN 'LITTLE HAVANA'

For three decades, Cuban exiles in southern Florida have clustered in front of glass skyscrapers in Miami's Little Havana and talked about returning to their homeland. "Next year in Havana" is the common slogan. But suddenly, the wistful talk has become decidedly confident. Inspired by changes sweeping Eastern Europe and Central America, some of southern Florida's estimated 100,000 Cuban exiles say that they are no longer wondering if Fidel Castro will ever fall, but eagerly planning for the day that he does. They are taking guerrilla training, drawing up new economic policies and deciding how to cash in as a free Cuban nation. Five of the nation's openly recognized exiles, that Castro remains firmly in power, and that their plans may be highly premature.

For the Cuba-Americans who fled from the island after Castro took power in 1959, returning anti-communism is a way of life. Spanish-language radio broadcasts at Dade County routinely refer to Cuba as a slave island and to Castro as a tyrant. One commentator has launched a contest: pick the date when Castro will fall. According to a recent TV poll of exiles, 44 per cent of respondents believe that Castro will be overthrown within a year. One out of five said that they would return to Cuba if democracy were to replace communism.

But some experts question the reality of the poll. They say that many exiles have grown comfortable and affluent in the United States and repented any sort of deep-seated patriotism. "You have to say you are going back," said Eduardo Páramo, a Cuban exile and college administrator. "People believe that a west coast person should do."

Still, no Sunday, up to four dozen exiles protest parades and emphasize exiles in the Everglades. One Cuban American group

recently tried a new banner tactic: releasing hundreds of balloons filled with Cuban national pockets of coffee, disposable razors and canned chowder, an unstarved Castro at the end of a banner's rope. (There is no indication of how many of the balloons made it from Florida to Cuba.)

The last political group, the 8,000-member Cuban American National Foundation, has divided political and economic policies for transitional rule after Castro's exile. Exiled business owners say that they plan to open restaurants and to export machinery to Cuba while the island's regime, San Domingo, Mexico, a notable neighbor. "There's going to be a whole very intense economic activity." But some experts say the exiles to curb their optimism. San Diego University of Miami historian James Suckler. "I think people to buy your machine, but don't put your clothes yet—because they'll just get washed out."

TIM JOHNSON in Miami

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## AGONY OF THE HOSTAGES

**KIDNAPPERS SAID  
THAT THEY WOULD  
RELEASE AN  
AMERICAN, AND THE  
WORLD WAITED**

When the news came on, I just looked at it and said "Oh, yes. Again."  
—Ruth Pollak, mother of hostage Robert Pollak

*I want to watch and wait. It's not the first time this has happened. I've learned that very well.*  
—Virginia Stone, wife of hostage Alan Stone

My roller coaster isn't as high as it used to be. I have learned.  
—Kathie Whangberg, mother of teenage Jesus Turner



Pollock (left), Turner and Stoen kidnapped by gunmen disguised as police

Shara told waiting Western reporters: "I hope so, I'll see you, and come shortly."

Stuart spoke amid a flurry of diplomatic activity in the Syrian capital. U.S. and Iranian officials, watched by a large international media contingent, were in almost constant movement between their respective embassies and the Syrian foreign ministry as one deadline after another passed. The Syrian government granted permission for a U.S. hospital plane to land at Damascus to take any released hostages to the American air base at Wiesbaden, West Germany. White House sources said that the U.S. administration had prepared a statement

thanking the Syrian and Iranian governments for their part in obtaining the anticipated release. But there were clearly last-minute hitches. Late Sunday afternoon, the GLP issued a statement saying that the hostage release would come "within 24 hours."

While the world waited, the QJF compounded the diplomatic confusion and emotional turmoil by failing to indicate which of its hostages it



*Hizbollah supporters at rally in Beirut: an initiative that seemed to have the backing of the Iranian and Syrian governments*

stressed also that the Syrian group's initiative had the backing of the Russian and Syrian governments. And despite the official U.S. policy of not recognizing the release of hostages, U.S. officials admitted at the weekend that they had been in daily contact with the Syrian government for some time. The stated interest of Damascus and Tehran in ending the direct-on-hostage crisis was also obvious, especially in an announcement that Wednesday, the *NYT* said that its initiative was a response to "largest spends" from Tehran, and in accordance with "the permanent Syrian efforts in this line." Certainly, the *NYT* seems to be closer to the Syrian government and to the pragmatic Iranian faction headed by President Ali Akbar Ha-

**Deadlock:** A further indication that Tel Aviv was serious came on Saturday when the English-language *Tel Aviv Times* urged all hostage holders in Lebanon to release their captives. The newspaper, which is known to reflect Rabin's views, added that a second group was also prepared to release a hostage.

Spymaster-turned-warrior Dwyer flew back in the Syrian capital from a diplomatic posting in West Germany, clearly hoping that the United States would relent in its insistence that Kefauver be on hand to witness the bloodbath. One Western diplomat said that the Syrian government was trying to negotiate a compromise in which Kefauver would arrive in Damascus after the shooting was over. But Hassan Bishara, the leader of Islamic Jihad, who is also widely regarded as a spokesman for the guerrillas, said that he saw no reason to believe that an eventual compromise was likely. Although Mossad accused the Americans of an "arrogant, cowboy mentality," he added "Kefauver's failure to respond in not going to cancel the mission."

Working in favor of a compromise, analysts say, is the fact that both the Iranian and Syrian governments are anxious to reach deals with the West, especially the United States. Iran's Khatami desperately needs Western expertise to revitalize his nation's war-shattered economy, and he also wants the United States to release frozen Iranian assets worth more than \$13 billion. Syria President Hafez al-Assad, alarmed by the growing military strength and assertiveness of his bitter rival, Iraq's Saddam Hussein, clearly wants to cement his friendly relationship with Washington because he can expect little help from the Soviet Union.

holding its hostages. Analysts in Beirut speculated that the three prisoners were in the ancient city of Baalbek, in Lebanon's central Bekaa Valley, rather than in the Shiite southern suburbs of Beirut with the other 14 hostages. Baalbek, a base for about 2,000 Iranian Revolutionary Guards, is also where Muawiyeh lives. And observers expressed doubt that the U.S. could make such confident statements if they had to estimate a hostage from West Beirut, where most Shiite factories were located a mile throughout last week.

**Mixed:** The analysts warned that, even if the U.S. did release one of its hostages within the next few days, there was no sign that the more radical factions of Hezbollah were in any more of a mood to free their captives—U.S. Americans, Iran, Britain, Iran, Spain, two West Germans and one Canadian. "The message I thought they were sending was that they were not going to let the Reagan administration's pragmatic policies lead them to want to continue punishing the West," he said. In Beirut last week, one well-placed State Dept. source told *Newsweek* that he thought that the factional differences were deliberately exaggerated to confuse the West. "The Lebanese are expert at sending mixed signals," he said. "They do it so that Reagan can say to Bush, 'I am doing you good, but you have to be patient.'"

**Angry:** The confused background, the hostage families' inability to contain emotional outbursts. At her apartment in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 90 km north of New York City, Robert Pollack,

## BUSH INSISTED THAT HE WOULD NOT 'KNUCKLE UNDER' TO TERRORISTS

mother, Meli, said resignedly: "I am going along with things. The kidnappers have put out threats before. I have made up my mind that I will live directly from the state department. I am not planning on it being my son" who goes free. She added: "I'm so exhausted with emotions that I can't react." Pollitt's Lebanese

thing to go through. You have to try to keep yourself in check. You don't want to get too high, because then you get so depressed."

The kidnapping of the three American professors, together with an Indian-born colleague, Michelbein Singh, who was released after 26 months, was one of Beirut's most

In October, 1984, Singh, an Indian national with U.S. resident-alien status, was released, apparently through Syrian intervention and because of his ethnic background. On his return to the United States, Singh said that the Pollitt received regular medical injections for diabetes and that Steven's problems with high blood pressure appeared to be under control. In other respects, he said, their conditions had been dreadful. The four had been confined together in one small room, whose windows were kept covered so that they could not gain any information about where they were. Singh added that they were shackled at all times and were



White House ceremony for longest-held hostage Terry Anderson: an emotional roller coaster for the families

with Phyllis, is in Beirut, living on the University College campus. He has two grown-up sons by his first marriage.

**Emotional:** In Boise, Idaho, Jesse Turner's 64-year-old mother, Estelle Roseburg, who calls her son John, was on a similar emotional ride. "My heart took a leap," she said. "I was almost crying, but then I got myself together because they didn't say which professor they were going to release, and the other mothers were their sons as badly as I was John." She added: "I have to cry and control my thoughts. I haven't cried yet, and if I don't John, I'll have a good day." Turner's second wife, Blair, also a Lebanese, lives on campus in Beirut with her two-year-old daughter, Joana, who was born six months after he was abducted.

Micromeli, in Clarksville, Mich., Adam Steven's wife, Virginia, a 32-year-old art historian who is studying for her doctorate at the University of Michigan, said: "It's a horrible

audacious abduction. Gammas disguised as the uniforms of the Lebanese Internal Security Force went to the campus on Jan. 24, 1987, and asked to see foreign professors to "advise them and co-ordinate their security." When the gammas snatched handoffs on three, the four professors apparently thought it was part of their instruction in self-protection.

In a conversation, the U.S. claimed that the professors had been carrying out "American conspiracies" and, in return for the hostages' freedom, demanded the release of 400 Palestinian and Shiite prisoners held by the Israelis. The Israelis dismissed the demand, and U.S. officials said that they would not pressure Israel to make such an exchange. During March and April of 1987, the kidnappers released two videotapes in which Turner said that Steven was gravely ill and near death. But, in May of that year, Steven himself appeared on tape saying that he had recovered.

freely moved from one location to another—Chicago, Minneapolis, always at night and always being on the floor of a car or van.

**Isolated:** Psychologists say that anyone having undergone lengthy confinement under such conditions is bound to be deeply and permanently affected. A Shiite militiaman in Beirut put it more graphically: "Forever, he will feel agony, pain and hatred, knowing what they put him through, knowing that he is innocent. He is going to be in pain for a hundred years." To protect their comrades, the hostages whom Hezbollah has already released have been careful not to express such thoughts. Their silence during last week's days of alternating hope and uncertainty was most eloquent of their words.

**JOHN BIERKMAN** with **LARA REARLOWE** in Beirut, **CYNTHIA SHARKE** in Mexico, and **MELAY MACKENZIE** and **WILLIAM LOWMEYER** in Washington

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# HOSTAGES TO TERROR

## THE ORDEALS OF ANDERSON AND WAITE

The world's focus last week was on Jesse Turner, Robert Pollak and Alexis Stone, the three American prisoners held hostage by the Palestinian Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine. But 14 other Westerners are also in captivity, the best-known of them being Terry Anderson and Terry Waite. A report.



Anderson: the longest-held captive

**Terry Anderson:** The one living hostage who epitomizes them all is Anderson, 43, the former chief Middle East correspondent for The Associated Press news agency. His abduction on March 16, 1985, makes him the longest-held captive, while the continuing media attention surrounding his case makes him the best known. In acknowledgment of his worldwide status, Washington last year designated his birthday, Oct. 27, as National Hostage Awareness Day. And in Anderson's home town of Barrie, N.Y., 50 km east of Buffalo, a statue of him, his hands bound in chains, is an public display. If he returns home, the chains will be removed and the statue presented to him by his fellow citizens.

Guarantor from the Islamic Jihad seized Anderson as he and AP photographer Don Mink, a

follow Anderson, returned to their homes from a game of tennis. Clearly, Anderson was a pinpoint target; his kidnappers allowed Mink to go free. Since then, Anderson's sister, Peggy Kay, who lives near Cairo, Ky., has been at the forefront of the campaign for him and the other hostages' release. She has organized petitions, made susceptible TV appearances, addressed rallies all over the United States and traveled to Europe and the Middle East to advance her cause. Last month, on the fifth anniversary of her brother's abduction, she met with President George Bush at the White House before taking part in ceremonies in Washington's Lafayette Park. Relatives of all the American hostages were present, including Madeleine Bassi, the Lebanese-Christian mother of Anderson's daughter Salma, who was born three months after he was kidnapped. When he vanished, Anderson was in the process of divorcing his Japanese first wife, who now lives in Tokyo with their teenage daughter, Gabriele. Madeleine and Salma now live in Nevada.

It is believed that Anderson does not know that his father and brother have both died of cancer during his captivity. He did not learn about his daughter's birth until she was 38th birthday, when she was five months old. His captors allowed him to watch a videotape of Islamic television in which the baby appeared. A few days later, they presented him to write home. It was a poignant letter: "Madeleine, my love, my heart, I love our daughter on TV the other night and I cried for joy." Since then, Salma's mother has sent over videotapes and photographs to the Beirut media every year on the child's birthday, on Anderson's birthday and on the anniversary of his abduction. Last month, Salma was pictured drawing a picture for him. "I love you, Daddy," she said. "Please come home."



Waite: on a mission to help free hostages, he himself fell victim to kidnappers

**Terry Waite:** The chubbier 50-year-old Anglican Church envoy was sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, to negotiate the hostages' release. But on Jan. 26, 1987, during his fifth visit to Beirut since 1985, Waite himself fell victim to kidnappers. He was on his way to a meeting with representatives of Islamic Jihad, arranged through a middleman, when he disappeared. No group has ever claimed to be holding Waite and, unlike Anderson, he has not been seen or heard from since. That, as well as other circumstantial evidence, has led some Western states to conclude that he is in fact dead—perhaps executed as an alleged spy for the United States. But, with negative evidence,

the British Embassy in Beirut acts on the basis that he is still alive.

His family also retains hope. In a secret interview, his younger brother, David, said, "If something had happened to him, we'd just know God gives us the grace we need to get on our way at a time." Waite, married, with a teenage son and three daughters in New York, is a distinctly British figure to the international media. A towering six feet, seven inches tall, with a thick, graying beard, he attracted newspaper publicity as he traveled the world on Runcie's behalf. In 1981, he was instrumental in securing the release of three American missionaries held in Iran since the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini came to

power in 1979. Four years later, he persuaded the regime of Libya's strongman Col. Muammar Gaddafi to release four Britons. And in November, 1985, he flew to Beirut on the first of five missions to ensure the Lebanese capital.

On Jan. 26, 1987, at 4 p.m., David independently drove Waite from the airport. Rogers Hargis in Moscow, West Beirut to the house of Dr. Adam Mraie, a genealogist at the American University Hospital who was acting as a mediator between Waite and Islamic Jihad. Waite dismissed his bodyguards while waiting for a contact to take him to the kidnappers. Mraie claimed later that he was called to the hospital and there, when he returned home, Waite was gone.

Before Waite embarked on his last trip to Beirut, officials of the British Foreign Office warned him not to go. The situation there was too dangerous, they advised—especially because his name had been listed in the media with that of nurse Leila Gazi. Oliver North, the U.S. National Security Council official at the center of the Iran-contra scandal, reports at the time also revealed that U.S. arms shipments to Iran coincided with the release of three American hostages in Lebanon. Ron Thompson, Wm. Lawrence Jones and David Jacobson, director of the American University Hospital in Beirut. Together, those ambulances may have led Islamic Jihad leaders to conclude that Waite was working in collusion with the U.S. government, although there is no evidence that the Anglican envoy was personally involved in any anti-hostage deal. Apparently certain that he had been kidnapped, Waite's family suspects, Waite ignored his government's warnings—and paid the price. □

## A DOZEN LIVES IN LIMBO



Chigapio death threat

**Emmanuel Christian, 33, and Eric Errigono, 24,** are the most recently named hostages. Kidnappers grabbed the two Swiss Catholic students, working for the International Red Cross, in the southern Lebanese port city of Sidon, on Oct. 6, 1989. They were abducted as they stepped out of a car that bore clear Red Cross markings. No group has ever claimed responsibility but the men are believed to be held by Abu Nafal's Pitha-Revolutionary Council.

**Joseph Chigapio, 59,** an Italian-born naturalized American, was financial administrator of the American University in Beirut when he was abducted on Sept. 12, 1986, by the Revolutionary

Jahade Organization. Two years earlier, Chigapio had converted to Islam and married a Lebanese woman, Elhan Ghadoud, then an employee of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. It was his third marriage. He has seven children, from the late teens to the early 30s, by his previous wives. On July 23, 1980, Chigapio's abductors threatened to kill him unless Israel released about 300 Arab prisoners. Chigapio, who had been seized from his home in southern Lebanon by Israeli commandos three days earlier. The death threat was later suspended.

**Brian Keenan, 39,** Irish with British citizenship, was kidnapped in West Beirut on April 11, 1985. No group has taken responsibility for seizing the lecturer in English at the American University in Beirut. His family members in

Northern Ireland say that, if he had been carrying his last passport, which he had forgotten at home that day, his abductors would have released him.

**Thomas Kempster, 30, and Heinrich Struwig, 49,** were West German workers with the left-wing Bonn-based relief organization AUSA-Hammar. Kidnappers seized them, along with a German colleague who was released within hours, on May 16, 1989, near a Palestinian refugee camp in Sidon. No group has claimed responsibility. Struwig was kidnapped twice the first time, as May 4, 1989, he was held for only one day.

**Jack Mann, 75,** a British citizen, was abducted on May 12, 1989. He was a Second World War fighter pilot and later chief pilot for

the Lebanese national carrier, Middle East Airlines. After returning in 1980, Mann and his wife, Susan, stayed on in Beirut. He managed a hair salon, and she was a riding instructor. They ignored requests from British Embassy warnings to leave, maintaining that they were used to be world-wide travelers. The Armed Struggle Cells claimed responsibility for grabbing him, and Susan Mann says that she believes her husband has died in captivity.

**John McCarthy, 33,** a British citizen for the London-based Worldwide Television News organization, was abducted while on his way by car to the Beirut airport on April 17, 1986, he was supposed to be married in London. His London office had ordered him to leave Lebanon to avoid terrorist prospects for an air attack on Libya by

Beirut-based U.S. warplanes. No group has claimed responsibility, but Hezbollah sources have reportedly confirmed that they are holding McCarthy. Last week, during a church service in London to mark the fourth anniversary of McCarthy's kidnapping, the British of Jerusalem awarded him a Gold Medal, as highest award to honor journalists prepared to suffer for their work.

**Alberto Molinari, 70,** an Italian businessman who had been living in Lebanon for more than 30 years, was apparently seized by gunmen in West Beirut on Sept. 11, 1985, three days after his 69th birthday. No group has claimed responsibility, and there have been no reports of him since. The Italian Embassy in Beirut keeps him file open, and Molinari's wife, Susan, says that she believes he is

still alive. "I'll go on waiting for him until I die," she said after receiving his passport in 1985.

**Frank Reed, 57,** the American founder of Beirut's Lebanese International School, was kidnapped on Sept. 8, 1986, while being chauffeured—driven to play golf at a course near the airport. He is believed to be held by the Arab Revolutionary Cells-Center Muhi-Deh Bqaleh. Reed, married to Susan when he married Sabina, a Syrian national. She is his second wife. He and his first wife, Nancy, who lives in Medford, Mass., had two children.

**Thomas Sutherland, 58,** a Scottish-born naturalized American, was serving as dean of agriculture at the American University in Beirut when Islamic Jihad kid-

napped him on June 9, 1985. He and his wife, Joan, who was a secretary, had been at the university for three children. Sutherland was abducted while being driven to the university from the airport. He had just returned from leave at his home in Colorado.

**Edward Tracy, 59,** an American book salesman and author of children's books, was seized on Oct. 18, 1986, around West Beirut's main shopping district, Hamra Street. He had ignored repeated U.S. official warnings to all Americans to leave Lebanon West Beirut. A group called the Revolutionary Justice Organization, whose leaders say that he is a spy for Israel and the United States, is holding him. Tracy, the father of three, divorced in 1974. He speaks Arabic and is converted to Islam. □

# THE HOSTAGE-TAKERS

## TERRORISM IS A FAMILY BUSINESS

**T**errorism is a family business for the Muslim extremists who do Iran's dirty work in Lebanon. Three powerful clans, the Maghaweth, Musawen and Hamada, form the core of the Shiite terrorist network that has hijacked four airlines and kidnapped more than 100 foreign hostages since 1984. Although Western critics have emphasized their Islamic convictions, they are, in fact, Lebanese. And while they cloak their operations in the religious fervor of Islamic revolution, they appear more to be motivated by Shiite-Muslim clan loyalties than by waging a holy war against the infidel.

Western intelligence analysts, relying heavily on the assistance of Israel's Mossad intelligence agency, have compiled a comprehensive picture of the hostage-takers. Their parent organization is Hizballah, the pro-Iranian "Party of God," which commands a large following among Lebanon's 1.2 million Shiites. But its terrorist arm has fewer than 150 operatives, who make up a brood that they lack in numbers. Although they have used a variety of weapons, all are assumed to be members of Lebanese or operating units of the same group, Islamic Jihad (Holy War).

**Background:** Analysts have identified the leader of the overall Islamic Jihad as Imad Maghaweth. He is a high-school dropout from south Lebanon who initially belonged to Youssef Arafat's Fatah guerrilla group before he left the Palestine Liberation Organization to become Hizballah's second-in-command. Maghaweth took several of his relatives into the new Shiite organization. And he subsequently joined forces with the Hamada clan from the Bekaa Valley and the Musawen clan, which reportedly runs a fast-growing lodestone in northern Lebanon. Together, they formed the nucleus of Islamic Jihad.

These headquarters is the ancient city of Baalbek, nominally under Syrian control but actually dominated by about 3,000 Iranian Revolutionary Guards. And they maintain a close working relationship with Iranian Interior Minister Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, who is known as their personal sponsor and contact among hard-liners at the Tehran regime.

Islamic Jihad surfaced in 1983 with three Beirut car bombings that killed more than 350

people at the U.S. Embassy and French and American military installations. The group also staged a bombing spree in Kuwait, blowing up the French and American embassies, and a motorcade in which the crate, Strait Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah, was slightly injured. The



Hizballah rally: bombing sprees and kidnappings

Americans had been targets since Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini branded their country the "Great Satan" in 1979. The French had engaged Iran by jailing Amin Nurouchi, a Shiite who tried to kill deposed Iranian prime minister Shihyar Bakhtiari in Paris in 1980. And Kuwait was the object of an Iranian-inspired destabilization campaign because of its support for Iraq in the 1980-1988 Persian Gulf war.

While the Americans and the French were still reeling from the bombings in Beirut, Saudi authorities quickly arrested 17 Lebanese and local Shiites, members of an underground

group known as "The Cell," and sentenced three of their conspirators to death. But the center never signed the death warrants, and the men survived. Two of the Kuwait 17 have already served their sentences and have been released. The release of the other 15 has topped the list of the Islamic Jihad's demands.

A strong family tie was also apparent in a series of terrorist acts directed at West Germany, which became a target of Shiite reprisals after it imprisoned two Iranian brothers in 1985. One of them, Muhammad Ali Hamada, received a life term for his role in the 1985 hijacking of a TWA airliner and the murder of a passenger, U.S. navy diver Robert Strehlen. The other brother, Abbas, was sentenced to 15 years for masterminding the kidnapping in Beirut of two West Germans, whom he wanted to exchange for Muhammad, and for other offenses. A West German firm reportedly paid a \$2.3-million ransom for one German hostage, and Bonn is said to have secured the release of the other by promising not to extradite Muhammad to the United States, where he would be subject to the death penalty.

**Deal:** France was the only other country to successfully negotiate the release of its hostages from Iranian-backed terrorists. Five French nationals were freed as part of a complex deal that reportedly earned the kidnappers more than \$24 million in ransoms and generated several concessions to Iran—including the release of seven Iranian terrorists implicated in a 1981-82 series of Paris bombings and the repayment of an \$800-million loan made by the Shah of Iran.

Although U.S. officials refused to negotiate for the American hostages, at least openly, they had indicated that they would be prepared to lift the freeze on billions of dollars' worth of Iranian assets in the United States if Iran begins serious talks. Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjari appears anxious to be the first to comply. But, unfortunately for him, officials and the hostages— he does not have in such influence with the kidnappers as his hard-line rival, Mohtashemi.

BOUGER JENSEN with CHRIS DRAGG in Cyprus

# Front row centre as the Curtain rises.



The remarkable events shaking the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are being reported by Maclean's team of correspondents, led by our Bureau Chief in Moscow, Anthony Wilson-Smith, and London Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips. As the real life drama unfolds, their accounts provide perspectives from both sides of the Iron Curtain and appear exclusively in Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine.

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

# A LEGACY OF TURMOIL

After the tumultuous final months of a bonhomie life, Harold Ballard was to his final resting place in an atmosphere of unaccustomed dignity. Last week, the hockey titan was buried next to his wife, Dorothy, in Park Lawn Cemetery in Toronto's west end under the protective cover of a dark tent for privacy and in case of rain. Curious reporters and photographers were kept at bay by police and security guards while Ballard's three children and a few close friends mourned his passing on April 11, at the age of 56. But the disposition of Ballard's wealth is a will made public the following day provoked controversy. The children, said William (Bill) Ballard, all are "very proud of what he did" in leaving the bulk of his estimated \$50-million estate to charity. He also left \$50,000 a year to his companion of eight years, Yolanda Ballard, said she does not remember. But Yolanda Ballard's lawyer served notice that she will seek a larger testamentary Bill Ballard and that he will give a claim in some shares in the holding company through which his father owned Maple Leaf Gardens Ltd. And

## HAROLD BALLARD WILLED BENEFITS TO CHARITY BUT LEFT THE FUTURE OF HIS HOCKEY EMPIRE IN DOUBT

he was by the Gardens' current directors. Three of them—Donald Giff, Steven Stavos and Donald Crump—are Ballard friends who are executors of his will and also trustees of the charitable trust. Ballard's closest ally, his lawyer Patrick Schmidt, said that he will sue to force a claim in some shares in the holding company through which his father owned Maple Leaf Gardens Ltd. And

the will left questions about the future of the Gardens and its National Hockey League franchise.

The Ballard money and control of the Maple Leafs have been the focus of legal disputes and controversy for years. Now, although Ballard's children, Mary Elizabeth Flynn, 47, Bill, 43, and Harold Ballard Jr., 41, say they are happy with the will's provisions, Yolanda Ballard is not. Her lawyer, Patrick Schmidt, said that she will soon back her claim for larger support payments with a lawsuit. Bill Ballard's claim is already continuing in a lawsuit that he launched last year against his brother and his father over Harold Jr.'s sale in June, 1988, of a block of stock in Harold II. Ballard Ltd., 100%—the holding company that, in turn, owns 66 per cent of the shares in the Gardens—to his father.

Ballard left his shares in 1989 to a charitable foundation to be established under his will. For now, the Gardens and the Maple Leafs will continue to



Yolanda Ballard (right) with friend Daphne Banks and Ballard pet, T. C. Puck, at graveside in Toronto

and the care of crippled children. The charities will be entitled to profits above the Gardens. But under the Charitable Gifts Act, the assets of all such trusts in Ontario must be sold within seven years, with all proceeds of the sale going to the designated charities. That is expected to generate a high-stakes bidding war, with such companies as brewing giant Molson Cos. Ltd. and John Labatt Ltd. among possible bidders for control of one of the most profitable ice franchises.

But of Ballard's death has failed to quell family disputes, it has brought new life to Maple Leaf Gardens. During the 18 years that Ballard controlled every aspect of business at the Gardens, he was frequently criticized for allowing both the building and the hockey team to slide into mediocrity. For years, vital systems such as the building's air conditioning routinely broke down, and services such as food franchises were badly strained. But now were even more marked by the aggressive performance of the Leafs. Under Ballard's strong leadership, they slid from losing a first-round Stanley Cup contender to become a demoralized, losing team, undermanned by Ballard's penchant for firing coaches after coach and alienating such popular star players as Larry MacDonald, Darryl Sittler and Rick Vaive.

Control of the team and the Gardens may turn on the lawsuit that Bill Ballard has

launched against the Gardens, his father and his brother over the sale of Harold Jr.'s one-third share of the stock in this Bill Ballard already owns one-third of the shares and has alleged that both his brother and his father violated an agreement that gave him the right of first refusal on Harold Jr.'s shares, which prevented him from acquiring control of the Gardens last year. U.S. Bill Ballard wins, he could exert controlling interest in the Gardens back from the charities. But Schmidt disputed that, saying that even if Bill Ballard

wins the suit, control of the Gardens would not necessarily pass to him. Ballard says that he hopes to be able to resolve the most out of court.

The Gardens trustees must also grapple with a possible bid for part of the Gardens by Molson Cos. Ltd., which has the right to purchase 33 1/3 per cent of Maple Leaf Gardens Ltd. That option must be exercised within 30 days after Oct. 31, 1990, and would cost Molson's \$10,000, compared with a market value for the shares of about \$55 million. The company has a further right of first refusal on an additional 33 1/3 per cent of the Gardens stock. Molson's recovered the option as a return for loaning Ballard \$8.6 million in 1980 to help pay interest on a bank loan.

also denied a \$5-million suit for defamation recently launched against her by Ballard's daughter, Mary Elizabeth Flynn. The suit followed a lengthy interview given by Yolanda to a Toronto radio station in February. Not even the family funeral was capable of cooling tensions. Yolanda was pointedly barred from the funeral and the burial ceremony. But she visited the graves of Harold and Yolanda Ballard, and with the white shaggy dog named T. C. Puck that was a gift to Ballard from Yolanda.

Meanwhile, the remaining questions hanging over the Gardens' future have helped push Gardens stock down by almost 16 per cent since Ballard's death. But observers on Queen's Street say that the stock was manipulated by speculators before Ballard's death and that now investors are "stealing blood" to see how the dust will settle. "That is a situation that Ballard himself would probably have enjoyed. With his knack for unsettling his critics and surprising his friends, Harold Ballard's legacy is likely to be a continuation of uncertainty and tactics that he created during his lifetime."

PATRICIA CHESTNOL

## Business Notes

### INTEREST RATES RISE

In his consumer effort to fight inflation, Bank of Canada governor John Crow raised interest rates to 5.75 per cent—their highest level since 1982. Analysts expect the chartered banks to respond by raising their prime rate to a possible 10 per cent, which could push mortgage and consumer loan rates to a record 20 per cent.

### CANADA PACKIES SOLD

Canada's largest publicly traded food-processing company, Canada Packers Inc., was taken over by the Canadian subsidiary of a British food-processing company in a \$1-billion merger. Maple Leaf Mills, which is owned by London-based Hilltoppers Holdings, will own 96 per cent of the merged company.

### JAPANESE SELL-OFF

A Japanese sell-off of U.S. and Canadian bonds sent Toronto American stock markets into a tailspin. The sell-off was the Toronto Stock Exchange dropped by 85.8 points to 3,416.6 on April 19, its largest one-day decline so far this year. On the same day, the Dow Jones industrial average closed at 2,711.94, down 20.44 points. The market was reacting to a large-scale sale of \$7 billion in U.S. bonds by Japanese investors.

### U.S. PRICES RISE

The pace of inflation in the United States continued to accelerate, rising by 4.5 per cent in the first quarter of 1990, according to the U.S. labor department. The increase has dampened hopes that the U.S. Federal Reserve Board would ease up on higher interest rates.

### BANKRUPTCIES INCREASE

Canadian bankruptcies rose up 26 per cent for the first three months of 1990 compared with the same time last year—the highest levels since the 1981-1982 recession. The department of consumer and corporate affairs says that the number of bankruptcies totaled 7,288 in January and February, compared with 5,773 in the same period in 1989.

### IBM PROFIT SOARS

First-quarter profits at International Business Machines Corp. of Armonk, N.Y., rose by 9.2 per cent despite slumping hardware sales, being mainly offset by services. The world's largest computer manufacturer reported a 1.1 billion in profits. The company's third-quarter revenue rose 12.4 per cent to \$29.49 billion, compared with \$24.79 billion last year.



Harold Ballard: questions over the Maple Leaf hockey team



Bill Ballard: 'very proud'



# Facing the regulators

'The Pez' looks forward to having his say

Whether he is promoting a hot stock, declaring bankruptcy or confessing his most recent wedding engagement, flamboyant mining promoter Murray Pez, always dressed in Vancouver. And last week, it was standing on a soapbox at the British Columbia Securities Commission headquarters as the chairman of Prime Resources Group Inc., who fondly calls himself "The Pez," and two associates appeared before a four-man panel to respond to charges of insider trading and related allegations. The charges stem from Pez's promotion last year of the rich Eskay Creek gold mine at northeastern British Columbia through a related company, Calpine Resources Inc. (If the commission rules against the 69-year-old Pez, as well as Prime Resources president John Irving and senior vice-president Lawrence Page, they could be barred the right to trade on the Vancouver Stock Exchange or to sit as directors or officers on any company listed on the list. But the promoter himself looked on the bright side. Said The Pez to reporters as he exited the hearing: "This is going to be a great hearing."

Pez will have to wait until summer to find out if he can. After a 90-minute session on April 17, at which charges were read, the commissioners adjourned the hearing to July 3.

Pez, whose charges are the latest chapter in a roller-coaster 40-year career during which he has promoted more than 500 stocks, including shares in companies that floundered the exploration and development of Ontario's fabulously rich Milliken goldfield, as well as highly speculative ventures in manufacturing, fast-food restaurants and a three-wheel-drive automobile. For the commission, the allegations are part of an on-again-off-again effort to end the use of questionable trading practices. But while he waits for the hearing to resume, the defiant Pez continues to loudly proclaim his innocence to Pez. "My public is in the middle of it. They believe in me, and no securities commission is going to make me lie down."

A year ago, The Pez was a hero on Bloor Street, Vancouver's financial strip. His promotion of shares in Calpine virtually resurrected the beleaguered mining trust. The Calpine shares themselves jumped to \$9.50 from just past 30 cents six months earlier.

Pez then held the spotlight for other reasons last year by successfully purchasing the bankrupt B.C. Lines of the Canadian Port-

land League's planning, then consolidating, a wedding to a woman less than half his age and then putting his wife by honeymoon home on the market for \$7.50 million (the version used). Calpine shares later plummeted in value, and closed last week at \$6.37.

But the notorious Pez has been up and



Pez in his workshop: a plunge in a roller-coaster 40-year career as a promoter

down before. In the 1960s and 1970s, he rode wild stock-market rises from riches to the brink of disaster as a broker and promoter. In 1972, Pez's declared bankruptcy following a disastrous promotion of a prospect between Muhammad Ali and Canada's George Chuvalo. But by the mid-1970s he had recovered. Then, in 1980, The Pez's fortunes slipped again as he acknowledged market-value losses of \$15 million and another \$1 million in debt. A year later, however, he held shares worth \$40 million. But by 1984, the value of his stock portfolio had dropped to \$9 million. Last spring, Pez began promoting Eskay Creek.

When the securities commission hearing resumed in July, it is expected to take five or six weeks to determine whether Pez and his associates caused Prime and Calpine to enter into stock transactions last summer based on information about the gold mine that was not available to the public. The commission alleges that the three caused Pez to publish news releases announcing the placement that were misleading, and breached disclosure rules by not making public for 23 days the fact that a million shares of

the underwriting had fallen through.

But despite the adverse publicity, the lure of profits from Pez's stake in the Eskay Creek development has continued to attract the attention of investors. The mine was half-owned by Calpine and it formally merged with Prime on April 8. Then, on April 16, the day before the adjournment, Vancouver business magnate James Pattison quietly bought 115,800 Prime Resources shares.

And last week, Prime announced another complex merger proposal with Shiloh Resources Ltd., holder of the other 50 per cent of Eskay Creek. If the deal is approved by shareholders, the regulators and the courts, Toronto-based Corona Corp., which holds stakes in

Prime and Shiloh, will emerge with a 44.6 per cent controlling interest in the merged company.

The complex dealings followed in the wake of positive drilling results at the mine. On April 11, Prime and Shiloh released confidential reports that estimated the value of gold and silver in Eskay Creek at \$2.3 billion. Last week, Shiloh announced even more positive drilling results.

But before the resumption of the hearing, which is expected to present its findings in the fall, the commission panel will rule on the firm's application to participate in the hearings as an interested party, and a request by Vancouver's CBC television affiliate and Victoria television station CTVU to broadcast the proceedings. Said Pez in welcoming the cameras: "Let the public know what's going on. We've got a lot to say." That comes as no surprise to Pez's followers. Despite the charges hanging over him, The Pez may well, once again, provide prime-time entertainment in Vancouver this summer.

HAL QUINN is Vancouver

## BUSINESS WATCH



# A formula for a new federalism

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

The greatest irony of the impending crash of the Meech Lake constitutional accord is that even though it is all of Canada's future that will be threatened, only the Quebec government is actively planning what to do after the June 23 deadline. Premier Robert Bourassa has already indicated he will stage a leading federal-provincial constitutional conference to, as he put it, "practice federalism on our knees."

Many criticisms have been laid, but public opinion, expressed during last January's European tour designed to attract the Continent's investors, that Quebec would reach some unspecified agreement with the rest of Canada on a still undefined "superconstitution." While in one sense his own cabinet has been able to guess how such a scheme might work, Bourassa himself provided some important clues on foreign press interviews he made to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (the Meech Lake Commission) in Quebec City on Feb. 24.

Bourassa wrote the brief himself after spending two years at Yale, Johns Hopkins, the University of Southern California and the Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique du Nord. He also serves as president in Detroit-based industry research and the care of his people. Following his 1986 defeat by René Lévesque's Parti Québécois, the past and future Quebec premier decided his model of Canada's ideal parliamentary system into three categories: the central level of government; with its own legislature and executive; and a system of power; what he called "regional" levels of government, exercising their own jurisdictions plus a new, third level of government, independent of the other two.

This would presumably be the kind of superstructure he has lately been discussing and in his brief he described it as "a bridge for all the partners in the federation." He lacked only his argument, pointing out that several such structures—"Yukon" in the border state, in that they belong exclusively either

*Bourassa recommended replacing the Senate with a forum that has real powers in areas where governments act concurrently*

to control new provincial governments—already exist, and based as examples the Supreme Court in its role as a constitutional jury and the Charter of Rights with its amending formula.

He attacked "the poorly structured, conservative and frequently ineffective" focus of federal-provincial conferences as a place to debate such issues and thus made the startling suggestion that was at the heart of his brief: "The federal government should be replaced by a new body, the Meech Lake Council. He recommended replacing the Canadian Senate with a permanent inter-governmental forum that has real powers in the areas where the governments operate concurrently." He also suggested the federal government be replaced by a "federal council" which would be "an executive body with genuine decision-making powers on jurisdictional issues."

That was six years ago and Bourassa's, as well as Canada's, sense of nationalism has since grown much more radical, but if there is to be a post-Meech Lake solution that sets of mid-range separation, some similar formula will have to be found. At the time of his brief, Bourassa was not even as strong a supporter of Quebec rights "A Liberal Quebec government," he

declared, "would be interested in negotiating a number of changes to the existing power-sharing structure." Much as the Meech Lake accord later proved, he called for "the one solution of Quebec's people with respect to education, energy, health, civil rights and culture [read language] in a broader sense."

He pointed out that Canada is the world's third-oldest federation, after the United States and Switzerland, and pointed the scenario for the country of "two orders of government" which function in hierarchy, independent of each other, as if they existed in two parallel universes.

In his document, Bourassa drew a strong line between day-to-day economic issues, which Quebec would handle within a federal Canada, an accord, without being subordinated to the national interest; and the whole idea of a nation as an economic unit. He followed the evolution of trading arrangements between countries and applied the parallel to Canadian provinces, moving from free trade to a customs union, a common market, economic union and through to economic integration. He then defined federalism as "the middle course" between a unitary state (as represented by the Atlantic provinces of economic integration) and a loose association of independent states. "The federalist approach," he wrote, "is the best of economic integration where we witness the coexistence within a single state of two equal and sovereign orders of government, each having their respective areas of jurisdiction."

Like all constitutional terminology, this is pretty dense stuff, but it does indicate the direction of Bourassa's thinking: even though he was much more of a federalist at the time of his brief. (At one point, Bourassa admitted that nothing he had written "justifies in and of itself a concentration of all powers of the state in the capital of an independent Quebec.")

He went on to press federalism "because it is the formula that makes possible the integration of different regions, national communities and societies into entities that are geographically large and politically more powerful, with a regional economic potential. Given the very nature of the country, its regionalism, its diversity, the alternative to federalism is not a unitary state with the power centralized in Ottawa but a mosaic of little states, more or less independent, and economically, socially, otherwise separated from each other."

Bourassa correctly pointed out that "this kind of federalism would certainly make it impossible to preserve the Canadian economic unity," thus significantly adding, "federalism is what enables Quebec to live in 'de facto' while benefiting from the union. But that otherwise not available to it as a political and economic area that stretches across half a continent."

That's as true today as it was in 1986. While no politician likes to be reminded where he stood on an issue, it might be a good time to study some of the Quebec premier's earlier thoughts to see how he can deal with Canada's post-Meech Lake future.

There may be no alternative

# THE COST OF GOING GREEN

**ACTIVISTS SAY  
MORE ACTION IS  
NEEDED AS  
ENVIRONMENTAL  
CONCERNS MOUNT**

**A**s an estimated 500 million people in 145 countries participated in Earth Day events last weekend, a tiny conference in Tellusville, N.W.T., underscored just how pervasive the danger to the planet has become. Delegates from eight countries with Arctic territory were told that chemical contaminants generated by industrial development far to the south—PCBs and dioxins—had been carried north by wind, rivers and ocean currents and had contaminated polar bears, whales and even the breast milk of Inuit women. And ultimately, the only manner to the problem of the North may be the one that featured prominently at Earth Day Sunday meetings: industrial growth must be controlled and managed to sustain the environment. Many executives who are reducing pol-

lution from their own companies support the concept of sustainable development, but even they question whether Canadians are willing to eliminate jobs or make other painful sacrifices to control pollution.

**Toronto:** Faced by nightmarish environmental disasters and the growing knowledge about threats from toxic industrial waste, concern about the destruction of the environment has soared around the world over the past two years. Many corporations that have been confronted with the painful prospect of tougher government regulation and embarking on projects from their own shareholders have already spent millions of dollars to reduce pollution and waste. They are also seeking to win favor with the public and regulators by making non-presidents to deal with environmental issues, introducing so-called green products and touting their new commitment to sustainable, sustainable economic development. But while environmental activists have looked some of those initiatives, they say that the vast majority of corporations will not sacrifice growth or profits for the environment unless they are forced to by government regulation and consumer buying power. And the federal government, his yet to produce an overall policy for the environment or to provide any firm indication of how much it will cost Canada to tackle such big issues as acid rain, Arctic pollution, toxic chemicals and polluted rivers and lakes.

**Spokane:** Those daunting prospects did little to stifle the spirit of Earth Day festivities taking place around the globe (page 54). And last week, amid the hoopla leading up to Earth Day, a sudden stream of government and corporate environmental promises and initiatives injected new glimmers of real hope that safe, sustainable economic growth may be possible. In Washington, General Motors chairman Roger Smith said that his company would soon introduce an electric car for personal use, thereby helping to cut carbon monoxide pollution from vehicle exhaust. Oak Brook, Ill.-based McDonald's Corp. announced that it will spend \$220 million a year to buy recycled plastic building materials for seats, doors and tabletops when building or remodeling its U.S. restaurants, in-

Oran, Canada's environment minister, Lucien Bouchard, tabled a long-promised set of new regulations limiting discharge into rivers, lakes and streams from Canada's pulp-and-paper plants. Meanwhile, Statistics Canada officials announced that they would soon derive statistics to measure the nation's environmental health.

**Pasadena:** Despite the apparent passion with which many business leaders have embraced environmental causes, environmentalists say that the businessmen's resolve may fade once they realize the full cost to their companies of sustainable development. Indeed, even business leaders such as Dow Chemical Canada Inc. chairman David Bassett—the chairman of Dow has reduced unexpected efficiency gains and improved sales (from environmental investments)—concede that the financial returns on ecological investments rarely cover their cost. As a result, some executives predict that companies will quickly jump off the green bandwagon if concerns about the environmental costs, or if an economic slowdown forces Canadians to choose between pollution and jobs.

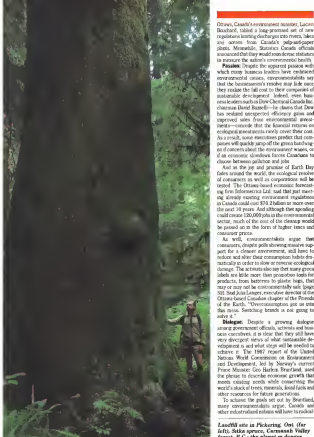
And as the joy and promise of Earth Day fades around the world, the ecological resolve of consumers as well as corporations will be tested. The Ottawa-based economic forecasting firm Telus International Ltd. said that past meetings, already existing environmental regulations in Canada could cost \$70.2 billion or more over the next 34 years. And although that spending could create 120,000 jobs in the environmental sector, much of the cost of the cleanup would be passed on in the form of higher taxes and consumer prices.

As well, environmentalists argue that consumers, despite polls showing massive support for a cleaner environment, still have to reduce and slow their consumption habits dramatically in order to slow or reverse ecological damage. The activists also say that many green labels are little more than promotion tools for products, from batteries to plastic bags, that may or may not be environmentally safe (page 52). Stat John Longtin, executive director of the Ottawa-based Canadian chapter of Friends of the Earth, "Overconsumption is an issue this month. Switching brands is not going to solve it."

**Dialogue:** Despite a growing dialogue among government officials, activists and business executives, it is clear that they still have very divergent views of what sustainable development is and what steps will be needed to achieve it. The 1987 report of the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, led by Norway's current Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, used the phrase to describe economic growth that meets existing needs while conserving the world's stock of trees, minerals, land facts and other resources for future generations.

To achieve the goals set out by Brundtland, many environmentalists argue, Canada and other industrialized nations will have to radical-

Landfill site in Pickering, Ont. (far left). Slicker spruce, Carleton Place Valley forest, B.C. (the planet in danger)



by restructuring their economies. Michael Manó, executive director of Greenpeace Canada, says that businesses and governments must find incentives to alter their decision-making processes to take into account the potential environmental costs and benefits of any course of action, not just make minor adjustments to their current way of operating. But Finn Hovland, a senior vice-president with Monsanto, Oak Island, 28, Port, Canada Inc., says that there will always be trade-offs. Said Hovland: "You can't have an absolutely pristine environment at the total expense of jobs."

In an attempt to encourage the activists and the business leaders to agree at common approaches to the development of the province, the federal government last year created the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, made up of 25 representatives from business, universities, environmental groups and three cabinet ministers in Ottawa—Bordaberry, Minister of the Environment, Michael Wilson and Industry, Science and Technology Minister Harvie Andre. But Manó insists that the body is heavily stacked in favor of business, and Greenpeace declined to participate.

**Debate.** Across Canada, where one of the highest standards of living in the world is supported by a vast and ecologically damaging resource sector, the debate over the trade-off between growth and the environment is already far more than academic—the industrial future of the country depends on the outcome.

In Western and Northern Canada alone, plans to build \$14 billion worth of resource-based megaprojects, which would create more than 10,000 jobs, are held up in government environmental reviews and protests by consumer groups. As a result, some of the projects—including the largest pulp mill in the world, a proposed \$1.3-billion Japanese-financed pulp mill on the St. Lawrence River in northern Alberta—may be delayed for years or may not get off at all.

In Ontario, the nation's rich industrial heart, Ontario Hydro officials warn that electrical blackouts will occur if the huge utility is not allowed to proceed with the construction of 16 nuclear reactors. Ontario always leans dependent on abundant supplies of cheap energy to keep its industry competitive with that in the United States, but the plants face stiff environmental hearings. Said Ontario Hydro vice-president of corporate planning Max Holt: "It is frustrating that delays in supply may lead."

But elsewhere, the sustainable-development debate heeded than in Quebec, where lawsuits launched by Cree Indians and environmental

ists are delaying construction of Hydro-Quebec's \$9.8-billion second phase of the province's massive \$56-billion James Bay hydroelectric power project. And, with a major political confrontation in brewing between Ottawa and Quebec over Phase 3, which is scheduled for completion in 1994. The entire project, when completed, will dam and divert four major rivers entering James Bay, producing 3,100 square miles of Cree land, forcing them to leave for export.

Senior federal and provincial officials have been attempting for months to negotiate the scope and duration of public hearings into the environmental impacts of James Bay—the first such review of the project because of the James Bay and Northern Agreement, signed by the Cree Indians in 1975. The deal was the largest land-claim settlement in history, and could

and possibly, the building of carbon dioxide in the earth's atmosphere is partly responsible for the greenhouse effect. And instead of hydroelectric power projects, Bordaberry released only a Framework for Discussion on the Environment last month and called for public hearings.

**Prices:** But any cleanup will be expensive. Based on a study he conducted last year, Carl Sauer, vice-president of Inverness, claims that already existing federal and provincial environmental standards will cost Canadians at least \$76.3 billion in new investment financed through higher taxes and consumer prices at the turn of the century. And even at \$70.2 billion, Sauer did not include the cost of any new federal food-safety tax or efforts to reduce agricultural pollution. Said Sauer: "We should be asking whether families are



Pulp mill on Vancouver Island: Canadians are the world's largest per capita producers of garbage and users of energy.

trade-offs involved in sustainable development, it is the forest products industry. Environmentalists say that it also contributes to water pollution and global warming by consuming massive stands of trees that, if left standing, would absorb carbon dioxide and emit oxygen.

Another month, the continuing confrontation between environmentalists and corporate leaders was underscored at MacMillan Bloedel Ltd.'s annual meeting in Vancouver. As company chairman Adam Zimmermann shuffled impatiently at the podium in a hotel ballroom, one shareholder complained the company is an environmentalist who has left the earth cold and dead. That was a reference to MacMillan Bloedel's controversial plan to harvest trees—many of which are several hundred years old—in the Caribou Valley on the west side of Vancouver Island.

**Meeting:** On April 10, at the annual meeting in Toronto of MacMillan Bloedel's parent company, Noranda Forests Inc., of which Zimmermann is also chairman, the international environmental group Greenpeace used its own voting share in the company to introduce a motion that would have compelled Noranda to eliminate all its discharges of xenobiotics. But the motion died because it was not seconded. Zimmermann went on to defend his company, saying that Noranda, which earned a profit of \$130 million on revenues of \$4.9 billion last year, plans to spend \$400 million over the next five years to reduce xenobiotic discharges.

But Zimmermann has also repeatedly warned that there are limits to how much forest companies can spend on the environment, claiming that a total organizational ban could cause

significant shutdowns in parts of the Canadian pulp-and-paper industry. He also cautions that the dangers posed by the industry have been greatly exaggerated. Said Zimmermann: "It can't yet be shown that the minute traces of these forest in forest products have any effect on anybody or anything anywhere."

**Costs:** If environmentalists force companies to make further concessions, consumers will have to shoulder the brunt of the costs. Indeed, Ronald Bingham, director of environmental and vehicle safety for Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd., estimates that the average North American-built automobile now contains more than \$1,000 worth of pollution-control equipment. And automakers say that the cost of reducing carbon-based emissions by even a further percentage point will push vehicle prices up dramatically.

In total, according to U.S. environmental estimates, the U.S. Clean Air Act is expected to cost U.S. industry \$250 billion over the next decade as firms conform to new standards imposed on factories, cars and coal-burning power plants that contribute to acid rain. But there are indications the industry intends to fight the legislation, which is now being debated by the House of Representatives. There are also indications in Canada that industry will fight back to protect its profits. The nation's asbestos pipeline industry, TransCanada Pipelines Ltd., announced last week that it will challenge last month's order by Energy Minister Jean Siro that the company file a mandatory environmental assessment of a proposed 2,800-km, \$2.6-billion expansion of its pipelines and that it submit to environmental screening on

pipeline and gas-export applications.

But as the environmental movement gains momentum, Canadian industry and consumers will also be under siege on a global basis from developing countries, which desperately need economic growth. Official estimates indicate that the current world population of 5.2 billion is expected to double by the year 2025—with the largest increase in the developing countries. More and more, developing countries are demanding that rich nations lead the global effort at curbing threats to the environment.

The costs of these global energy-construction measures—quite apart from dealing with environmental issues such as acid rain and Great Lakes pollution—could be extremely high. Donald Dewar, a professor of law and environmental economics at the University of Toronto, said that Canada will have to approve nearly double energy prices if it hopes to reduce carbon emissions from burning fossil fuels by 20 percent by 2005, as it promised last year at Toronto at an international conference on global warming.

**Garbage:** So far, Canadian businesses and consumers have shown only limited willingness to make major sacrifices. Indeed, as Bordaberry's gross report noted, in a per capita basis Canadians are the world's most prodigious users of energy, the largest producers of garbage and the fourth-largest producers of carbon dioxide. And even if the spent of Earth Day banners, it is clear that it will only be a positive sign on a dark horizon unless industry, consumers and governments make the hard decision for the 1990s—and the next generations.



Larger: Michael Manó and Carl Sauer debate over the expense of achieving a pristine environment.

ultimately cost the federal and provincial governments about \$2 billion. But the current talks recently broke down over Quebec's insistence that the timetable of the environmental review must fit the construction schedule of the project. Federal officials charge that this is legally and politically unacceptable, so the two parties could not agree on a joint review. Meanwhile, several key court decisions have forced Ottawa to confront the possibility of further legal challenges by environmentalists. As a result, Ottawa has accelerated its push for new legislation that will preserve cabinet discretion on environmental assessment reviews (page 56).

Initial reports indicated that Bordaberry is installing an ambitious five-year strategy that was to include still new environmental laws, including a clean-air act on fossil-fuel products to discourage the burning of coal, oil, natural gas

produced to pay an average of \$1,500 a year, each year, for cleaner air and cleaner water."

**Pressure:** Still, while the federal government hesitates and pollution mounts, a combination of public pressure and the prospect of further regulation has already prompted many industries to adopt substantial steps to enhance waste and pollution. In fact, even before Bordaberry revealed his new regulations last week, Canada's 145 pulp-and-paper companies had already planned to spend \$1.2 billion over the next three years to close up their waste discharge.

Last last week, Canadian Pulp and Paper Association director of public affairs Louis Proctor said that companies will have to invest \$5 billion over the next four years to comply with Bordaberry's new plan. Indeed, if there is one sector that clearly identifies the economic

# CATERING TO NEW CONCERNS

## THE DEBATE ABOUT GREEN PRODUCTS

**F**or Edmonton housewife Sarah Pryde, environmentalism begins at the nursery. Concerned about the pollution caused by disposable diapers, Pryde has been a regular customer of a local cloth-diaper delivery service since Storm, the first of her four children, was born in 1981. And although Storm Pryde is now nine years old, she uses the same service delivered to her by Pryde's five-month-old daughter, Spout Rose. Pryde, 30, whose husband is a business executive, says she wants to do more as a consumer to protect the environment and give meaningful thought to shopping for so-called environmentally friendly products. She says that she is prepared to bear some extra costs. Said Pryde: "I'm willing to go as far as I can with this carefully, I don't mind spending."

Health Pryde is not alone. According to public opinion polls, a growing number of consumers are declaring their willingness to at least consider the health of the environment when they make purchasing decisions. And business has noted little time in catering to their concerns. In the past year, supermarket and big-box stores have begun trying to convert shoppers to new lines of so-called green products, and manufacturers of everything from detergent to batteries have modified and repackaged goods to present a more environmentally friendly face. The potential for profit is considerable. Since a new line of products was first introduced last June, the Toronto-based Loblaw supermarket chain has already generated more than 800 million in sales from its Greeno product line. But environmentalists warn that, in many cases, the companies trumpeting their newfound environmental sensitivity are in fact offering products with little or no environmental benefit.

Still, recent polls have shown that mounting concerns over the harm to the planet has re-

shaped consumer attitudes. In fact, 18 per cent of respondents to the 1988 Maclean's/Decima poll rated the environment as the leading issue facing Canada today, the first time that the issue was the top concern in the six years of the



A shopper studies "environment-friendly" label; critics cite examples of "marketing gull"

poll. And market researchers predict that over larger numbers of consumers will soon do more than simply pay lip service to environmentalism—they will actually change their buying habits. Indeed, a 1989 survey by the Ottawabased Grocery Product Manufacturers of Canada, which represents about 150 food and beverage makers, found that 86 per cent of shoppers were willing to consider paying higher prices for environmentally safe products. Said Les Kobas, a Toronto-based retail industry consultant: "People will vote with their dollars at some point."

New companies have played to public environmental concerns more aggressively than Loblaw. The company markets more than 100 products under its Greeno label, ranging from

toilet paper bleach without chlorine to phosphate-free detergent to recycled motor oil. Said David Nichol, Loblaw International Merchandise president: "It's the pro-environment is sound business strategy." Finding that competitive edge has turned other major retailers into the green market. Last fall, the Home Hardware Stores Ltd. chain of St. John's, Ont., with nearly 1,000 outlets across Canada, began marketing 40 of its low-toxicity paints and household cleaners under a new Earth Care logo. And in March, the Calgary-based grocery chain, Canada Safeway Ltd. launched its Environmental Options program. Shoppers at each of Safeway's 825 stores across Western Canada are now greeted by shelf signs that point out more than 60 different products, ranging from coffee filters to cloth diapers, that the company has deemed "environmentally sensitive."

Stewart Dutton, Safeway communications manager, says the company opted against certified paper bleached without chlorine to phosphate-free detergent to recycled motor oil. Said David Nichol, Loblaw International Merchandise president: "It's the pro-environment is sound business strategy." Finding that competitive edge has turned other major retailers into the green market. Last fall, the Home Hardware Stores Ltd. chain of St. John's, Ont., with nearly 1,000 outlets across Canada, began marketing 40 of its low-toxicity paints and household cleaners under a new Earth Care logo. And in March, the Calgary-based grocery chain, Canada Safeway Ltd. launched its Environmental Options program. Shoppers at each of Safeway's 825 stores across Western Canada are now greeted by shelf signs that point out more than 60 different products, ranging from coffee filters to cloth diapers, that the company has deemed "environmentally sensitive."

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dicted that the new system would reduce the amount of plastic being thrown into garbage dumps across Canada by 200 ton annually. Three months later, Procter's leading Canadian competitor, Toronto-based Lever Brothers Inc., trumpeted a new \$20-million environmental action plan that included the elimination of phosphates—chemicals linked to excessive algae growth in lakes and rivers—from the company's leading brand, Sunlight laundry detergent.

**Hypebole:** While many consumers have embraced the new consumer products, environmental groups have responded to them with skepticism. Michael Macleod, executive director of Toronto-based Greenpeace Canada, said that while a few green goods represent encouraging steps forward, many represent little more than industry hypebole. Among the companies that have aroused the ire of activists is Kenwood Canada Inc., which has started promoting its Energizer batteries as "environmentally safe." Company officials say that, over the past few years, they have reduced the mercury content of their batteries from one per cent to 0.03 per cent of total weight and predict that the move will improve their competitive position. But Greenpeace campaigner Gordon Perks said that simply cutting down on mercury—which has been linked to nervous disorders in humans, and is one of several toxic metals used in batteries—does not make Energizer's product substantially safer.

And even Loblaw's successful Green line campaign has been dogged by controversy almost from its start. Colin Isaac, executive director of the Toronto-based environmental group Pollution Probe, resigned last summer

after many associates complained of the organization's endorsement of several Loblaw's products, including a disposable diaper. Most environmental advocates contend that only cloth diapers are truly less harmful to the environment. And many activists have complained that Loblaw's Green line includes products devoid of any environmental benefit whatsoever.



The Prydes take delivery of diapers willing to pay more

over, such as toxic cleaners carrying the Greenleaf symbol because they contain better-tasting additives meant to discourage children from swallowing them. "To call a product like that 'green' is the ultimate in marketing gull," said Jesse Hillard, who chairs the Ottawa-

based Consumers' Association of Canada environmental committee.

**Trade:** Some companies, meanwhile, already appear to be backing away from their products' environmental claims. Mobil Corp. of New York City recently announced it would drop the word "degradable" from packages in its line of kelly plastic trash bags because, while the

bags are intended to break down under sunlight, they end up in landfill sites instead of the sun. Environment Canada also is trying to effect consumers' guidance in green purchasing. Under the department's Environmental Choice program, manufacturers can apply to carry the Federal EcoLogo—three downs returned in the shape of a single leaf—in products that meet established criteria for environmental soundness. So far, the government has issued cautiously. In the past two years, board members have said criteria for only 10 product categories, including cloth diapers and recycled paper products. And only 10 individual products, including three brands of water-based paint, will carry the EcoLogo.

But many manufacturers have received certification to carry the EcoLogo. Clearly, as companies race to catch up with the market, they and their consumers may find the business of seeing the planet at the supermarket checkout more complicated than it first appeared.

DAVID THOMAS

## THE PITFALLS OF NEW PLASTICS

At first glance, it looks like an ideal solution to North America's increasingly serious garbage-deposal problem. During the past few years, companies have begun marketing so-called degradable plastics that are designed to break down more rapidly than ordinary plastics after being discarded. In the United States, such products as paper bags and grocery bags made with the plastic have gained popularity. But the new plastic products are under attack by environmentalists, who claim that they do not solve ecological problems. In March, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency issued a report labeling so-called degradable plastics as "a scam." Said Greenpeace campaigner Gordon Perks: "The degradable-plastics people are the first environmental liars."

Criticism centres on manufacturers'

product claims. Some companies, like St. Lawrence Sherrill Co. Ltd., based in Mississippi, Ont., produce additives that they say speed up the degradation of plastic objects after they are buried in landfill sites. Others, like Eco Corp., also of Mississippi, make so-called biodegradable plastics designed to break down over time in sunlight. But many environmentalists contend that such materials break down into smaller fragments of plastic that are no healthier for the environment than the original products. Some experts speculate that the plastics may release toxic additives into the environment. Said Wayne Mulder, business development manager at St. Lawrence Sherrill: "The technology works. The consequence does have a lot of mistakes." For his part, John Angus, executive vice-president at Eco Corp., said that Eco's products "break down into a powdery stuff that will not do damage to the environment."

Controversy surrounding degradable plastics has also hit the Canadian market. Robert Lortner, a vice-president of Toronto-

based VCI Packaging, says that the company's degradable garbage bags consumed only about one per cent of the \$300-million Canadian trash-bag market. Some retailers who have used degradable shopping bags say that they now have more reservations about them. Canada Safeway Ltd. admits, for example, that while some of its stores continue to offer customers the bags, others are focusing on getting customers to return shopping bags for reuse. Indeed, some plastics industry officials are now concerned that degradable plastics are worthless products. James Gence, product manager with First Brands Canada Corp., says the company deliberately chose not to market a degradable version of its popular Glad garbage bags. Said Gence: "It looks like a good thing, but it's not a solution." The controversy over degradable plastics suggests that the road to successful "green" products may be strewn with unexpected pitfalls.

D.T.

# A TIMELY EXTRAVAGANZA

## EARTH DAY KEEPS GROWING IN SCOPE

On a Earth Day 1970, Nigel in Canada decided to sacrifice his car, a dilapidated old Austin, for the sake of a cleaner environment. A 19-year-old environmental activist at the time, he parked the car on the University of Victoria campus and vowed students to descend on it with a sledgehammer for a fee of \$1 per swing. As Seale remembers it, the original Earth Day was an exclusively American event, with practically no registered activists in Canada. Twenty years later, Earth Day 1990 has become an international event celebrated on April 22 in 140 countries. Seale chaired the Victoria-based committee that helped to organize the hundreds of events across Canada, which were expected to attract up to two million people. "We're going to have to become a consumer society in the 1990s," he said. "A focused event like Earth Day is going to make a difference."

**Deceiver:** American organizers predicted that up to 500 million people would participate in thousands of Earth Day events and activities around the world. They spoke optimistically of Earth Day Sunday creating lasting awareness among the general public of environmental issues and permanent changes in lifestyles and consumption habits, particularly within the developed nations. Earth Day organizers also aimed to convince political leaders and private companies that average citizens, by taking part in events on a worldwide basis, are demanding measures necessary to save the planet from an irreversible ecological disaster. Said Christina Decker, a San Francisco environmental lawyer and executive director of Earth Day 1990, "There has been an entire absence of leadership at any of our elected leaders."

But some observers argue that the measures needed to reverse the planet are so drastic that the general public, governments and businesses are not yet prepared to accept them. Leslie Brown, president of the Worldwatch Institute, a Washington environmental research group, said that governments should be imposing taxes on the consumption of such fossil fuels as oil, natural gas and coal, which contribute to global warming of the atmosphere by giving off carbon dioxide when



Midler: hopes that one day can make a difference

burned. He said that it may well take a natural catastrophe on a global scale to convince mankind to give up fossil fuels, which are the most widely used energy source in the world.

**Fears:** Although many environmentalists hold equally apocalyptic fears of the future, the objective of Earth Day was to harness the human energy necessary to prevent a planetary disaster. An estimated 20,000 students in Jordan placed to participate in a roadside cleanup, and similar events were set for Mexico and Thailand. In the United States, each entertainment licensee as Meryl Streep and Bette Midler took

part in a televised extravaganza.

In Canada, hundreds of Earth Day events were organized from coast to coast and were scheduled to take place from sunrise to sunset. At 6 a.m. Sunday, Micoas host and spiritual leader Noel Koochewas was set to lead a sunrise ceremony at Halifax harbor. Friends of the Earth, an Ottawa-based environmental advocacy group, planned to launch a five-year campaign to plant 15 million trees across Canada.

By almost any measure, Earth Day 1990 was destined to be vastly larger than the original event, which was held on April 22, 1970. The first Earth Day was conceived by then-Wisconsin Senator Gaylord Nelson. He recruited a 25-year-old Harvard University law student, Denis Hayes, to organize a national day of protest aimed at raising public awareness about environmental issues.

**Lesson:** The transformation of Earth Day into a global event two decades later reflects the increasing concern among average citizens everywhere over a looming environmental catastrophe. Decker said that air and water quality have continued to decline over the past 20 years. At the same time, scientists have discovered the magnitude of such problems as atmospheric warming and ozone depletion. Experts believe that global warming could melt the polar ice caps and raise the level of the oceans, while ozone depletion may lead to a higher incidence of skin cancer, crop failures and destruction of marine life.

Canadian environmentalists argue that both government and business are lagging behind the public attitudes towards pollution. Elizabeth May, executive director of Ottawa-based Cultural Survival (Canada), an organization that works with natives on environmental issues, said that there are now more than 3,800 environmental groups across Canada, with a total membership of at least 500,000. May said that the major challenge facing environmental activists is to turn public support for their cause into a government's ground-level that politicians and businessmen cannot ignore. Earth Day 1990 could prove to be the necessary catalyst.

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Jamne Bay dam: recent decisions may cloud prospects for regional development

## TAKING TO THE COURTS

### ENVIRONMENTALISTS FIGHTING BACK

It is a classic confrontation between environmentalists and government. Since September, 1987, the Friends of the Oldman River Society has been fighting in court to halt the Alberta government's Oldman River dam project. Members of the group say that the \$153-million dam could destroy at least 18 square miles of valuable wildlife habitat. In March, a Federal Court of Appeal handed the society a major victory, ruling that the transport and fisheries departments had failed to carry out the environmental assessments of the project that Ottawa's guidelines require of all federal decisions. But the legal sparring is far from over. This week, the group is scheduled to go to court again in an effort to stop continuing construction work on the dam.

Increasingly, groups opposed on environmental grounds to massive development projects are opting to fight their battles in court. Successful challenges to the Oldman project, and to Saskatchewan's Raftery-Alameda dam project, have given environmental groups renewed confidence in the courts. Indeed, environmental arguments form a major part of challenges mounted by the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec against Hydro-Quebec's \$4-billion Great Whale hydroelectric project in the James Bay region. The issue has sparked concern among resource industry officials, who say that precedents set by recent decisions, and the threat of future challenges, could cloud prospects for regional development.

Recent environmental court actions have largely followed in the footsteps of last year's precedent-setting Raftery-Alameda case. Lawyers for the Canadian Wildlife Federation, which launched the Federal Court challenge, argued

that the federal government was obliged to conduct an environmental assessment of the \$140-million provincial project because it touches on several areas of federal jurisdiction, including fisheries and international rivers. From the outset, federal officials interpreted Environment Canada's 1984 guidelines on environmental assessment as discretionary, and usually chose to leave assessment of provincial projects to the provinces. But, in the Raftery-Alameda case, the Federal Court ruled that Ottawa has a legal obligation to follow its own guidelines and assess projects involving federal land, money or areas of jurisdiction.

**Battle** That ruling has given environmentalists a powerful tool in their attempts to block other projects. Opponents of Ditchburn, Canada Gas Ltd.'s new \$150-million pulp mill, being built near the town of Peace River in northern Alberta, have followed the same strategy. A coalition of seven environmental and native groups launched a Federal Court challenge in February. They argue that the mill, scheduled to open in July, may endanger fish and wildlife in the area. And they say that four different federal departments, Environment, Transport, Fisheries and Western Economic Development, all failed in their responsibility to follow the guidelines.

The rise of legal challenges by environmentalists has caused growing concern in Canadian industrial circles. Said Donald Garrie, managing director of the Alberta Chamber of Resources: "The environmental movement has got our attention—they have shaded us right between the eyes." Garrie said the likelihood of costly, time-consuming legal battles may discourage investment in the western provinces, where most of the actions have so far taken place. For its part, Ottawa has expressed concern that many proposed projects may now be subject to review.

Environmentalists, meanwhile, say that Ottawa may block the avenue for court challenges. New legislation providing for environmental assessment reviews is scheduled to be tabled in the Commons before the summer recess, and it is expected to grant Ottawa discretionary powers to call for reviews, limiting the effect of the recent court decisions.

**Action:** Still, environmentalists continue to view the courts as an important arena for future battles. Earlier in April, three of the founders of a Saskatchewan coalition opposing the Raftery-Alameda dam project announced a foundation for environmental action. Among its mandates: mounting court challenges on environmental issues. Lawyer Rodrick MacDonald, a spokesman for the group in Redville, Sask., said, "People are frustrated with the conflict between what they want and what governments are giving." As public militancy on the environment mounts, a growing number of Canadian citizens may have to face their day in court.

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# Faithfully tragic

Although she performs tortured songs about drug addiction and seduction on her new album, *Blowing Away*, pop singer Marianne Faithfull says that she is not personally a tragic figure. Instead, Faithfull, a former heroin addict who once attempted suicide with sleeping pills, says that she is an optimist upon whom people like to project a



Faithfull: a world-weary image

world-weary image. "Tragedy is when things don't work out," said the 43-year-old singer, who looked her drug-battered best years ago. "But my life has worked out. I believe it is just one of my jobs that I have to appear to be suffering for other people's benefit." The British-born Faithfull added that, years ago, she had been upset by a review that referred to her songs as "music to stir your throat by." But, she said, "Now, I can laugh at that."

# Like father, like son

The British-American actor Peter Lawford made his career debut at 7, but his son Christopher says that he resented following in his father's footsteps for as long as possible. Finally, in 1966, at 31, after studying law, he capitu-

lated. Said Lawford: "When I eventually admitted that I really wanted to act, a weight lifted from my shoulders." Lawford, who lived with his mother, Patricia Kennedy, sister of John F. Kennedy, in New York City after his parents' 1946 divorce, said that his father, who died at 62 in

Lawford's capitulation



# The voice of charm

Actor Kiefer Sutherland, best known for his movie roles as a bad-boy rebel, recently turned into a fairy-tale prince. The 33-year-old narrated the part of a young royal in a Canadian-made, animated movie version of *The Nutcracker* based on the classic E. T. A. Hoffmann fairy tale, which is now in production at Ontario. Said Sheldon Wasserman, the movie's executive producer: "Kiefer sounded like the perfect prince—and he was delighted to do it."

Sutherland: 'the perfect prince'

# A PRESIDENT ON CANDID CAMERA

In writing his memoirs, former President Lyndon B. Johnson insisted on avoiding informality because it would be "demeaning," says his longtime staff assistant Harry Middleton. But, during his years in office (1963-1969), a notoriously crude and encouraged photography of his private life. In his newly released photo book, *LBJ: The White House Years*, Middleton shows Johnson in decidedly unceremonious situations, including in bed and even having his golfclubholder removed. LBJ, says Middleton, could be "a master of vulgarity."

# Different beat

It is an unlikely development, but Israeli singer Ofra Haza became an international pop star with an album of traditional Yemeni folk music. In 1987, Haza, 31, a longtime pop sensation in Israel, said that she received that album to please her parents, Israeli immigrants from that Arabian peninsula country. Then, American rap musicians incorporated some of Haza's ancient tunes in their songs, winning her father's acclaim. Now, Haza has included more Yemeni songs on her new pop album, *Desert Wind*. Said Haza: "Every now and then, we all need something new and a little strange."



Haza: pop with ancient overtones

1964, never tried to influence his choice of career. "But," he added, "as a kid, I took his lack of encouragement as discouragement." Now, Lawford is working as steadily as his father did—currently as a police officer in the thriller *Kin*, being filmed in Vancouver. Said the actor: "I'm a late bloomer—but I have a large part of my father inside me."



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## FILMS

# Crime and punishment

*No heroes and no happy endings*

**B**oth movies are crime stories without heroes or happy endings, and both are based on American novels. But the resemblance ends there. *Miami Blues* is the tale of a psychopath who impersonates a policeman for fun and profit. Darkly comic and ingeniously violent, it portrays the petty justice of crime through the random acts of a damaged individual. Written and directed by former *Beverly Hills Cop* screenwriter George Armitage, it's a gleeful black comedy—funny, shocking, raucous and unpredictable. Meanwhile, *Out* is about exposed evil. It tells the story of a crooked officer and a conspiracy that controls the highest echelons of the New York City police department. Written and directed by Hollywood veteran Sidney Lumet, *Out* is a gritty thriller with a serious message about police corruption and racism. It is sincere and complicated—but as predictable as heavy traffic in midtown Manhattan.

Although *Miami Blues* title sounds soft-headed, the film has a dangerous edge. Based on a 1980 novel of the same name by Miami author Charles Willeford (now dead), it nearly overstates the clichés of m'y's Miami Vice. The camera goes beyond the Florida facade of art deco palaces and big-time crime to focus on a middle-American Miami of suburbs and slums.

Junior (Mickey Rourke) chugs champagne on a plane heading to Miami. Gruffly handsome, he looks like a big-time drug dealer, or perhaps an undercover cop. At the airport, he deliberately walks off with someone else's luggage and playfully breaks the fingers of a *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying* who pesters him. Then he checks into a luxury hotel and orders a call girl from a bellhop. A pose-based prostitute named Susie (Susan Leigh) answers the call. Working her way through college, she has dreams of owning a Burger World franchise and a house with a white picket fence. Junior buys her, then woo her. He takes out to be a freshly released convict who steals things when the mood strikes him. But Susie, who is slow to catch on, decides that he is his handsome material.

Meanwhile, a disheveled police detective named Hoke (Fred Ward) tracks down Junior as a murder suspect. Making a house call, Hoke grants Junior's best and least-as-free's pork chops (Susie even gives him the recipe: "Just fry 'em in their own fat"). Later, Junior, made their visibility better than he is, beats his senseless Junior steals his gun, his badge—and his desires. Misreading as a policeman, he embarks on a pirate career of catching criminals as the act and taking their spoils.

Junior is crazy, Susie is stupid. They make an

attractive couple, with nothing in common but physical chemistry. As Susie, Leigh strikes a brilliant balance between sexy and dumb. Her voice flattened into a lonesome growl, she projects a dream-woman but enduring vulnerability. As Junior, Rourke, who played a naval



Leigh, Rourke's mooncasing up as a sunny psychopath

avast! recently in *The Hunt for Red October*, gets a chance to loosen up. He combines sunny charm with psychopathic intensity, and appears at one loving change after another—which takes a comic twist after Junior's handsome features get lost in the line of duty.

The rough (rice of Miami) blues is spiced with a red-hot streak of sadism. There are a couple of scenes guaranteed to draw gasps and shrieks from the audience. One shows an old woman watching Junior's psychotic back as he awakens movie suit for seeing on bottom, or, in other words, to watch, but hilarious. Unlike so many thriller directors, Armitage does not glorify violence, but uses it for surreal effect.

Armitage learned his craft in the 1960s with American *Beverly Hills Cop* screenwriter Roger Corman, who

also schooled directors Martin Scorsese, Francis Coppola and Jonathan Demme. It was Demme, in fact, putting on a producer's hat, who knew Armitage to direct *Miami Blues*. And with its low-budget track and jagged story, the movie recalls the offbeat style of Demme's *Something Wild* (1986) and *Married to the Mob* (1988). Admittedly, the plot has some going holes. Even in drug-ridden Miami, it seems unlikely that Junior would stumble across so many crimes in the making. And the loose ends include a pointless career by Susie. Does of TV's *Saturday Night Live* as a homicide investigator. But the flaws in Armitage's surprising, quirky script are easy to forgive.

By contrast, *Out* is a so-damn-right plot that it makes the most. Based on the 1976 novel by Elmore Leonard, one of New York State's first Hispanic judges, the movie attempts to expose police racism. Director Lumet used *Urban Cop* as an adviser. In *Prince of the City* (1981), another conspiracy thriller about police corruption. With *Out*, the focus have changed, but the situation is the same: one man battles the might of a corrupt system.

Nick Noble, acting tougher than ever, plays Brennan, a New York police detective with a legendary reputation. One night, Brennan goes down in unmarked Hispanic hoodlums and claims that it was self-defense. An idealistic young assistant district attorney named Billy (Timothy Hutton) is assigned to the case. His superior tells him that it is a cut-and-dried justifiable homicide. He tells Billy to breakly conduct an interview with Brennan and close the case. But it is not so simple. Billy learns new evidence from a Hispanic drug dealer named Truaxler (Dennis Haysbert). Incredibly, Truaxler's girlfriend, Nancy—widely portrayed by the nameless sister of director's daughter—happens to be

Billy's former fiancée. The movie creates a stark portrait of bigotry, snapping out the ethnic divisions that inform the police forces as well as the gangs. And the dialogue is riddled with rapid-fire epithets spoken in persuasive accents at almost unbearable speed. But at all its subtle intricacies, *Out* captures its subject's confusion. A big white cop trembles as a cocaine-snorting Hispanic transvestite, he chases him to Puerto Rico, a lost Bronx sky-high. Despite the *Mad Max* setting, it is set in New York's Miami Blues, not Mexico with the hollow-pot holms of Miami Vice. Although it poses provocative questions, when it comes to answers, *Out* runs Mafko.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

# Songs of success

Baritone Kevin McMillan is a rising star

With his easy good looks and genial, open nature, Kevin McMillan seems more like an engaging friend than an international star. In fact, the 32-year-old singer did grow up as a central Ontario dairy farm son. Let alone, and his first ambition was to become a farmer. He still lives small-community life with his schoolteacher wife, Christine, and their four-year-old son, Alexander, he lives in a century-old house in the heart of Chatham, a city of 42,000 in southwestern Ontario. But McMillan, who first studied agriculture at university, switched to music in 1979. Now a rising star in the world of classical music, he has performed throughout North America and Europe. Some critics are already claiming that the young Canadian baritone has a talent as luminous as that of Dietrich Fischer-Bukusa, the revered 64-year-old German baritone. Declared Toronto Mendelssohn Choir conductor Elmer Iseler, who has worked with McMillan many times,

"The world is pretty much wide open for him."

Like all recital singers, McMillan is often called upon to project larger-than-life emotions when he performs. But, offstage, he downplays the considerable drama of his personal history, which he discussed earlier this month in Toronto to the way there to sing Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. John Passion*. With dry understatement, he described early 1960 as "an interesting time." On Jan. 3 of that year, he was working on top of a silo on his parents' farm when he fell 30 feet and broke his back. After months of recuperation, he remained partially paralyzed from the waist down and, as a result, he uses leg braces and crutches when he performs. But McMillan maintains that his disability has made it easier for him to put the daily stresses of being a singer into perspective. "I don't get upset about losing two hours' sleep because of jet lag," he said. "I've had to deal with more serious stuff."

The injury, McMillan said, may also have

added impetus to his musical career. "I think that if it really has, in some way, made me more determined that this is going to happen, that I'm really going to do it." That drive, combined with his exceptional talent, has made the world take notice. Earlier this year, he went on a monthly European tour, performing in Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* under the renowned German conductor Helmuth Rilling. Among the critics who have praised McMillan is Peter G. Davis of *New York magazine*. After a *Musical* performance last year of songs by Franz Schubert, Davis wrote that the baritone "not only rejoices in a firm, superbly schooled voice of great beauty, but also sings German song with rare insight and compelling intensity."

Although McMillan grew up assuming that he would become a farmer, music was an important part of his life from an early age. The middle child in a family of five, he sang in school choirs and spent two summers in the Ontario Youth Choir. After two years in the science and agriculture program at the University of Guelph in his home province, McMillan recalled, "the rest of it was that I could come back to science and I couldn't come back to singing." He transferred to the music program at the University of Western Ontario in London and later moved to New York City to do graduate work at the Juilliard School of Music.

It was there that his career began to take shape: a representative from the New York artist's management firm Thos. Dupree Inc. heard him sing at Juilliard and signed him to a three-year contract. "My manager took me on



McMillan: from down on the farm to levith praise in the world's greatest halls

such a great talent," said McMillan. "My résumé read 'baritone soloist, Metropolitan United Church, London, Ont.' There really was nothing on it." Only two years later, in 1986, he made his well-known Carnegie Hall debut in Johannes Brahms's *German Requiem*. Following as a concert career rather than opera was a decision that was more or less thrust upon McMillan by his disability. He noted that he would "lose to do" certain

operatic roles, but added that there are "lots of able-bodied baritones around." Still, he pointed out that recital work was his first love—and his warm and expressive voice, together with his superb diction, makes him well-suited to the concert stage. McMillan also described recitals as "probably the most demanding thing that a singer can do." It's a concert singer performs 24 songs in an evening, he added, he is really portraying 24 characters. And part of the

challenge lies in bringing each character to life without the costumes and other outward trappings of opera.

McMillan says that he plans to divide his time over the next few months between concert engagements and recording sessions. In May, he is to travel to San Francisco to perform, and then record, German composer Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana* with the San Francisco Symphony. It will be his second recording on the Decca label, the first, Danish composer Carl Nielsen's *Third Symphony*, which contains a small part for a baritone voice, was made with the San Francisco Symphony last November and has yet to be released. So far, his 1989 recording of songs by the British composer Ralph Vaughan Williams and Benjamin Britten is his only solo release, but next month he will record an album of 19th-century German recital music for a CBC pressing. In July, McMillan is scheduled to make his debut at the famous Tanglewood Festival near Boston. Next February, he will have his first solo concert in the renowned series held at New York's Knit Room V.

Currently, McMillan is back in Chatham leaving two new recital programs. He hopes that the two new international music world with his new fan machine. And, when he has time, he relishes by performing in his flower garden. A farm boy who now works some of the greatest concert halls in the world, Kevin McMillan still likes to keep in touch with the land.

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# Intimate affairs

Philip Roth mixes truth and fiction

So with *That would explain the death* of Philip Roth's new novel, *Deception*, which features a picture of a man's hand cupped around the naked flesh of a woman in bed. It would also explain the blurb, which describes the book as "Roth's most provocative novel about the erotic life since *Portnoy's Complaint*." That work was published two decades ago, and Roth, now 57, has written another 13 novels since. But, for many readers, his name is still synonymous with *Portnoy*, the book with all those indecent images of the boy who could not stop masturbating.

Roth's characters are grown-up now. They no longer look themselves in the bathroom *Big*, with their loss affairs and lies, they are still playing games of sexual hide-and-seek. Roth's new novel is about adultery, in a manner of speaking. True to its title, *Deception* is deceiving. Despite the erotic hard sell of the dust jacket, there are no graphic descriptions of sex—or of anything else. The novel is pure dialogue, without a phrase of exposition or attribution, without a single "he said" or "she said"—just bare-naked talk.

*Deception* details a number of Roth's favorite characters: it posits the dilemma of being male, being Jewish and being a writer. And, like his previous novel, *The Good Wife* (1986), the narrative hinges on a middle-class autobiography and fiction. With the possible exception of John Updike, Roth has plumbed the male psyche more thoroughly than any American novelist of his generation. It can become tedious; he sometimes writes as if he is stuck in a dull marriage with his own legacy. But, as *Deception*, he breaks fresh ground, at least stylistically. "This sex Roth is writing in this book," Updike, a friend of Roth's, told *Macleans*' last week. "It's tempting to see his work as narrations about how to see people and connect themes. But you have to adhere the way he sticks to his themes and, like Roth, does one more turn through his obsessions."

Roth's new book makes a departure in several ways. With *Deception*, he made a controversial move to a new publisher and received the largest contract of his career: \$2.1 million for a three-book deal. Abandoning the literary house of Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Roth moved to the more commercial firm of Simon and Schuster. Recently, the chief executives of the two companies have been sitting at each other like combatants in a cowardly battle. His former publisher, Roger Straus, predicted that Simon and Schuster will lose more than \$1 million. Roth, it printed, 190,000 copies of *Deception*,



Roth in his new book, an author named Philip and his lover play sexual games

although none of Roth's recent novels has sold even half that number. Simon and Schuster's Richard Siegel called Straus "a bad loser."

During a recent interview with *Macleans*, Roth seemed apologetically amused by the state of his commercial potential. He said that his new publisher "tried to put as much action as it could between my old dust jackets and the new one. I said, 'Go ahead, do what you want to do and see what happens.'" Sitting at a Jewish social officer table shows matzo ball soup, a Simon and Schuster executive roared borrowed for the interview, the novelist was a tanned jacket and grey flannels, with a blue button-down shirt and a dark pullover tie. He talked about his life, his writing and the blurred

boundary between them. "You get tired of your own voice, tired of just one sentence," he said. "This book is a momentary escape from all kinds of narrative building blocks that I have been playing with for a long time. It is primarily about two people in bed. They have a sexual life, but the rest of their life is only talk—talking and listening are almost erotic activities."

Much of *Deception* consists of presexual and postsexual conversations between adulterous lovers, an unexamined literary Englishness and

decision key. It has been suggested that novelist Jean Rhys may be a model for Philip's mistress *Deception*. Like the character, Rhys was a British writer who fell victim to cancer. And she once lived in an apartment upstairs from him, just as the narrator's lover lives upstairs from him in Roth's previous novel, *The Good Wife*. Added to this, the novel was edited a model. Roth grabbed a copy of *The New York Times*, scanned the front page and picked a woman's name at random: "Sarah Lyall. Suppose I say to you it's Sarah Lyall. Once you know that, what do you know? All you know is gossip, which is to know nothing. It's a silly game."

But Roth's post-sex narrative provides comedy. And he admits that he is "rubbish" in explaining personal intention and heterosexual confusion for the sake of a good story. "Anybody who enters a writer's life intimately knows that we play for keeps," he said. "It's a kind of promiscuity. I don't know why anybody has anything to do with me—I wouldn't." Laughing, Roth added, "Really, I should have a big sign that says 'Beware—vicious writer'."

Willing to take his chances, British actress Clara Bloom, 58, has lived with Roth for the past 18 years. They share a farmhouse in Connecticut. Their relationship has had its rocky moments, he admits, but not because of any contradictions that he has committed on the page. "Clara's in the same business," he said. "Writing is my act—it's very much a kind of performance. You go into a room apart from other people and concentrate. You release inhibitions—and ultimately a sense of consequence." Added Roth: "You are both the performer and the audience, suffer like a child playing by himself."

The son of a life insurance salesman and his wife, Roth was raised in Newark, N.J. He later wrote in his 1988 memoir, *Patience: A Novelist's Autobiography*, he tried to fill "the mythological role of a Jewish boy growing up in a Jewish life zone—to become the hero one father failed to be." After starting a career as a university teacher, he won the National Book Award for his first book of stories, which featured a novella titled *Goodbye, Columbus* (1959). After *Letting Go* (1962), a belated first novel about Jewish intellectuals, and *My Life as a Man* (1974), the thinly veiled story of his disastrous marriage to Margaret Marikowski, which ended with her death in 1968, the prolific reader and wit of *Portnoy's Complaint* made Roth famous in 1969.

In the 1970s, Roth attempted more fecund works, including, *The Breast* (1972), the comic tale of a man who has to live with a breast that, during the past decade, Roth has devoted himself to an increasingly self-absorbed style of personal realism. A trilogy of novels, collected in *Zerkowman* from 1982, features a character named Hedra Zerkowman, a novelist famous for writing a

profile best-writer. Zerkowman resembled in *The Good Wife* and authored a quartet bypasses apocrypha—early *Deception* Roth's own quartet began last summer. "This was rather unique," recalled Roth, "I thought, 'Not bad, what do you do now?' There and 'Just don't become a breeder'."

Roth's fiction is more typically rooted on the male organs—from the casual confession of masturbation in *Portnoy* to the passionate delirium of carnation that concludes *The Good Wife*. Indeed, his work contains some of the most introspective discourse about male sexuality that American literature has to offer. With *Deception*, Roth's first in adultery, he finally gives equal time to a female character—making her at least as authentic and sympathetic as the men. But the novel's voracious readers stubbornly made it one: seeing



Bloom: taking chances with a "rubbish" writer

stretch of plotting, the mistress interrogates Philip in a stock text, asking him, "Can you explain to the court why you hate women?" Roth said that the scene grew out of *The Good Wife* (1986). After *Letting Go* (1962), a belated first novel about Jewish intellectuals, and *My Life as a Man* (1974), the thinly veiled story of his disastrous marriage to Margaret Marikowski, which ended with her death in 1968, the prolific reader and wit of *Portnoy's Complaint* made Roth famous in 1969.

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magazine essay last November, he singled out Roth. Citing an early essay by Roth, White wrote that it taught "a generation of serious young readers... that it was time to turn their eyes away." Roth says that he was misquoted. "Tom is not a good reader," he said. "I saw him on the street about a month ago and took him for a cup of coffee to straighten him out." Referring to White's adoration for impeccable white suits, Roth added, "We were both seated by each other's clothes—we were both aware."

Roth's writing appears more increasingly personal. He has just completed *Furrows*, an autobiographical memoir about his father that is scheduled for publication next year. Meanwhile, he says that he is grappling with the legions of a new novel. "Whenever I think about it, I absolutely erupt," he said. "I don't know what is left to write about. But, after a while, something starts to cook. And it's often an argument with your previous book—you try to write it."

Constantly quarrelling with his characters—and himself—Roth appears to thrive on ambivalence. In *Deception*, he writes about "the terrible ambiguity of the 'I,' the way a writer makes myth of himself." Turning down the myth and building it up, Roth keeps improving new variations. And as he returns the line between truth and fiction, the object of the game, like an unassuming modern, remains elusive.

BRIAN D. JAMESON is New York City

## Macleans

### BEST-SELLER LIST

#### FICITION

- 1 *Forest of My Youth*, Henry (1)
- 2 *September*, Pinter (2)
- 3 *The Drowning Man*, White (7)
- 4 *Society Legs and All*, Bellow (3)
- 5 *The Beasts of Uppercross*, Leavis (14)
- 6 *Changing Men*, Shapiro (15)
- 7 *Deans and Deans*, Simon (5)
- 8 *Saving the Cherry*, Huxford (8)
- 9 *Levin Parry*, Dowling (3)
- 10 *Unwound*, Pinter (6)

#### NONFICTION

- 1 *Strawds and Salt Society*, edited by Anthony and Andrew (3)
- 2 *Hagström 2000*, Swell and Andrew (4)
- 3 *Barbours at the Sea*, Angham and Miller (3)
- 4 *Earl's Love*, Jones (5)
- 5 *Between the Naked Man Who Offers 'The War Story'*, Jones (5)
- 6 *The 100 Best Composites to Work for in Canada*, Jones, Lyons and Hines (2)
- 7 *I Am Right*, New Writing (3)
- 8 *Porting with Hobbies*, Foweraker (3)
- 9 *Moments of Absence*, Cron (7)
- 10 *Continental Drift*, Lijdt (6)

(1) *Portnoy* best-seller

Compiled by Brian Jameson



## John Buchanan's missed opportunity

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There is nothing really wrong with this country, despite all the professional crag-heaps currently in full cry. The only thing wrong is a case of piloting stupidity affecting those who are paid to lead. It clearly is a virus, since it is creeping into the upper reaches of an increasing number of positions. Since they hang out together, they are obviously passing on the germs. It can be the only possible explanation for the stupid utterances being uttered. Last week's example came from the otherwise unusual Atlantic provinces. We have an unusual situation at the moment, quite surprising for Canadian political traditions. Three of the customarily powerful four provinces in that westerly order of the country have thrown up premiers who have national weight out of all proportion to their communities.

There is no powerful personality of a Peter Lougheed spanning Alberta, no city old W.A.C. Bennett from British Columbia. There is no intellect like Allan Robison coming out of Saskatchewan, no stubborn but consistent troublemaker like Sterling Lyon out of Manitoba. Brunswick is wildly impopular, as we all know, in the rest of the country, and David Peterson of mighty Ontario is seriously trying to be a peacemaker, not a John Roberts-like leader.

The result, in happenstance would have it, is that Newfoundland, New Brunswick and even even Prince Edward Island have had men who are filling the vacuum. Clyde Wells is arguably the most popular politician in the land outside Quebec, and if he could speak French and was nominated, he could walk away with the Liberal leadership nomination. Frank McKenna of New Brunswick is one of the most impressive of the new premiers and has swallowed his early objections in an attempt to elicit a compassionate pardon solution to the absolute March 14th debacle. In F.E.J., Joe Ghis has energy and intelligence superior to his lack of intellect and, like McKenna, has his eyes on the federal Liberal leadership one day.

This leaves out all the regular headlines on John Buchanan, the blow-dried premier of



New Scotia. Notably the senior of the Atlantic provinces, the most populous and with the most hopeful economy of the four, Nova Scotia has been invisible in the national debate that has been dominated by Wells and McKenna lately (the alleged prime minister of the land trying to act more as a jumpy referee than a leader).

Blow-dry John was obviously suffering from a political vision of penis-envy at all the ink being generated by those who actually have ideas and left the pressing, burning need to do something about it. What did he do? Of course. He missed a beautiful opportunity to keep his mouth shut.

Feeling that he needed to contribute to the endless Melech Letiche misuses, he opened his yip to a Canadian Press reporter (brought to have a national story tossed in his lap and caused out loud how the Atlantic provinces would have little choice but to join the United

States of the Mersey dog's headboard west to bid and Quebec's were to leave Canada.

This is rather like shouting "Fire!" in a crowded theatre in the present fated atmosphere of nation-building. It helpfully rocks right up there with the previous record-holder of stupid comments, Lester Brouillette of Ottawa and Gil Rémillard of Quebec City.

Bouchard, an otherwise intelligent man who has been positioned in the newly sexy Borealis account portfolio by Mulcahey in hopes he will be his francophone successor at 24 Sussex Drive, has no identity problem. Author of the brilliant statement that Canada may have to choose between Quebec and Newfoundland, he confesses that he is in the Ottawa cabinet to represent Quebec's interests. This is indeed quaint, since there is this old-fashioned theory extant that federal cabinet members, since appointed, are there to represent Ottawa's policies in Quebec—or Alberta, or wherever. The PM's stated reluctance to correct his close friend's skewed views as to his responsibilities has a link, and should, to his party's present 15-per-cent popularity among those voting to get to the ballot box.

Sitting on the same news conference platform in Quebec City with Tony Bouchard, Liberal Rémillard—Bourassa's chief negotiator on Meech Lake—helped out by saying that Canada "could survive without Newfoundland"—thus, getting the Guinness Book of World Records mark for the most stupid comment of the year, until it was broken by Bourassa.

It's not as if our home-grown politicians needed to step into an empty arena. There are plenty of ignorant people stored offering advice. Pat Buchanan, the pit-bull terror of the Republicans right who will debate his old boss Richard Nixon, has checked in with his list for "Americans-drawing of a Republic which, by the year 2000, encompasses the Maritime and Western provinces of Canada, the Yukon and Northwest Territories all the way to the Pines, and includes the world's largest island, Greenland, purchased from Denmark, giving the United States a land mass rivaling that of the Soviet Union, under a constitution permitting all her people freedom to make all their dreams."

The Washington Post, one of the few U.S. papers to pay attention to him in a recent issue, suggests that a wouldn't be devastated if Canada broke up. It is extremely gracious of Mr. Buchanan, he before the border, to offer us the "freedom to make" our dreams.

Thanks, but we have enough problems dealing with the stupidity of our own Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Bouchard and Mr. Rémillard.



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